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CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Tiberius' Villa Jovis on the Isle of Capri

. *Mary C. FitzPatrick*

A Glimpse of Roman Law *Max Radin*

Latin by Popular Demand *Walter V. Kaulfers*



Program, Southern Section CAMWS, Tallahassee

We See by the Papers . . Trends and Events . . Notes . .

Book Reviews . . Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

The drawing above represents a small bowl in the Royal Ontario Museum. The height is barely seven inches, the clay reddish and the provenance Etruscan or Apulian. The casual execution of the decoration bespeaks a skilled workman, who was probably making many of the same pattern. The date is such that the pleasure of smashing them may have fallen to the Gauls who were plundering Italy and captured Rome in 387 B.C.

A MAGAZINE INTERPRETING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE
SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION
TO MODERN LIFE

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The general subscription price is \$3.50 a year in the United States. For other countries an extra charge of 25¢ for postage is made (total \$3.75). Single copies, 50¢ (foreign, 55¢). Subscriptions for less than a year will be charged at the single copy rate. Address W. C. KORFMACHER, Saint Louis University, 3650 Lindell Blvd., Saint Louis 8, Missouri.

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc., with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. The annual volume consists of eight issues (October through May).

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Menasha, Wis., on October 19, 1934. Additional entry as second-class matter at St. Louis, Mo., under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 19, 1934.

Printed by the George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin

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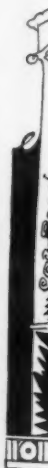
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Tiberius' Villa Jovis on the Isle of Capri	Mary C. FitzPatrick	67
A Glimpse of Roman Law	Max Radin	71
<i>Liber Animalium</i> —Sciurus	Anon	79
Trends and Events	Dorrance S. White	80
"We See by the Papers"	William C. Salyer	83
Latin by Popular Demand	Walter V. Kaulfers	85
"Ea Quae ad Effeminandos Animos Pertinent" (Note)	Edward C. Echols	92
A Fight in the Desert—Juvenal XV and a Modern Parallel (Note)	Gilbert Highet	94
Symposium for Mary Hamilton Swindler (Current Events)	Otto Brendel	96
Thomson, <i>The Classical Background of English Literature</i> (Review)	Helen H. Law	100
Anderson, <i>The Black Sail</i> (Review)	Billie Marie Koons	101
Winnington-Ingram, <i>Euripides and Dionysus</i> (Review)	Chauncey E. Finch	102
Nilsson, <i>Greek Piety</i> (Review)	Eugene S. McCartney	103
Young, <i>Troy and Her Legend</i> (Review)	Joseph Remenyi	105
Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals	Bassett-Spaeth	106
Program, Southern Section CAMWS, Tallahassee, November 24, 25, 26		107



"I know, Glaucon, we need to popularize the classics; but after all . . . !

Metelman



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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 45 Number 2
NOVEMBER 1949

*One of the Mediterranean's loveliest islands
where the second emperor of Rome
spent his last grim days—*



Tiberius' Villa Jovis On the Isle of Capri

Mary C. FitzPatrick
Barat College

UNLIKE OTHER CAMPANIAN sites, Capri does not seem to have had much historical importance before the early Roman Empire.

Almost the first mention of it we possess is that the Emperor Augustus was so charmed by its beauty that he gave the imperial island Aenaria (modern Ischia) to the Neapolitans in exchange for Capri.¹ On the north coast, in the section which is today called the Marina Grande, he erected a villa. Tra-

dition has it that he also began the erection of another villa on the easternmost height, the Villa Jovis, which is intimately connected with the name of his adopted son and successor, the Emperor Tiberius.²

Until comparatively recent years certain vaulted ruins, directly beneath the little chapel of Santa Maria di Soccorso, and the foundations of a pharos or lighthouse, were believed to be all that remained of the splendid palace which once crowned the height. It was thought that the vaulted structures were the foundation, and that they were all that survived of the palace after the Corsair raids of the Middle Ages. However Professor Amedeo Maiuri, superintendent of Antiquities in Campania, became convinced that such was not the case. Excavation fully justified his doubts, for it was discovered that what had long passed for the foundation of the palace was in reality its top floor, and that on the side which overlooks the Marina Grande are the remains of three lower floors, built around four massive cisterns or reservoirs which formed the core of the palace structure.³

The way to Villa Jovis leads for some distance in a northeasterly direction through the winding narrow streets of the village of Capri. Once the town is left behind, a paved lane and a long series of shallow steps lead

←TOP

1. VILLA JOVIS. PARTIAL VIEW OF THE ATRIUM. THREE OF THE FOUR BROKEN COLUMNS WHICH DECORATED THE ROOM ARE VISIBLE. IN THE RIGHT DISTANCE ARE THE RUINS OF THE PHAROS. THREE STEPS OF THE ENTRANCE STAIRCASE MAY BE SEEN AT THE LOWER RIGHT. THE BRICK WALL ON THE LEFT HIDES THE CORRIDOR WHICH LEADS TO THE SERVANTS' QUARTERS AND BARRACKS.

←BOTTOM

2. THE CORRIDOR LEADING FROM THE ATRIUM. NOTE THE ORIGINAL WHITE MOSAIC PAVEMENT. THE SMALL DOOR IN THE BACKGROUND GIVES ACCESS TO THE SERVICE QUARTERS. AT THE FAR RIGHT THE BREAK IN THE WALL MARKS THE MOUTH OF THE STAIRCASE WHICH LEADS TO THE SECOND FLOOR.

ever upward to the main entrance of the palace, through vineyards and fig orchards, along the same route over which Tiberius himself must often have been carried in his litter. To the right, a little below the entrance, lies the tiny white house of the custodian and, far more important than it, a sheer drop where the limestone cliffs fall straight down to the water almost one thousand feet below. This is the "Salto di Tiberio" (Tiberius' Leap), over which a scurilous tradition of long standing would have us believe that the emperor had his enemies thrown.⁴

The main entrance⁵ faces west and overlooks the Marina Grande far below. It opens directly into an atrium. The bases and sections of the shafts of four columns of cipollino marble are all that remain of the once beautiful decorations of this room. Off this atrium opens a corridor paved in white mosaic, the simplicity of which is broken only by a nar-

row black band near either side. A small door at the end of this corridor leads to the service quarters of the palace: the kitchen, servants' quarters, and the barracks of the emperor's guards. Close to the end of the corridor and on the right opens a wide stairway which leads to the floor above.

A second atrium is found at the top of this staircase. In it, little of note remains today. However, from this room a passage leads to one of the most remarkable parts of the villa, a corridor from which the modern visitor can look down into the massive cisterns in which rain water was collected to supply the palace. These were so equipped with hydraulic machinery that water from fountains throughout the building could be used again for household purposes and for bathing. On the opposite side of the corridor are the various rooms which formed the baths. We can identify the praefurnium or furnace room, the tepidarium or warm anteroom, and



3. THE AMBULATIO OR PROMENADE USED BY THE EMPEROR FOR HIS WALKS. FROM STRAIGHT AHEAD HE COULD LOOK OFF TO MISENUM. BEYOND THE PINES THE LAND FALLS AWAY IN THE TERRACES FROM WHICH RAINWATER FOR THE CISTERNS WAS COLLECTED.

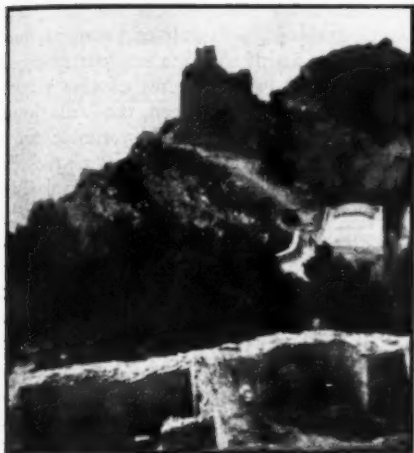
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4. VIEW TAKEN FROM THE TOP FLOOR OF THE VILLA, LOOKING DOWN TOWARD THE BATHS. THE PHAROS IS IN THE BACKGROUND. THE WHITE BUILDING IN RIGHT CENTER IS THE CUSTODIAN'S HOUSE.



5. VIEW OF SUPERSTRUCTURE OF THE CISTERNS. THE ARCHED OPENINGS PARTLY VISIBLE LEAD DIRECTLY INTO THEM. THE ONE AT THE LEFT IS AGAIN IN USE TO SUPPLY WATER TO THE MODERN TOWN OF CAPRI.

the caldarium, the room in which the hot bath was taken. In the latter room we can still see the double walls through which the hot air circulated, and the pipes for the hot water.

Beyond this corridor lies a large suite of rooms, the largest of which is commonly called the Throne Room. On either side of it are two smaller rooms. This is undoubtedly the section of the villa from which Tiberius ruled the Roman Empire during the last ten years of his life (A.D. 27-A.D. 37). Other smaller rooms cluster about this suite. In all likelihood they were the offices of the imperial freedmen and officials.

Above this section on the top floor we come upon another corridor (semicircular because of the cisterns) which leads to the private quarters of the emperor and his family. In the walls of this corridor are three niches, which once contained statues of the emperor's favorite divinities and formed the lararium or household shrine.

At the end of the corridor and to the left lies a series of small rooms, identified as cubica or bedrooms for members of the court,

while on the right are the personal rooms of the emperor. The chief feature of this quarter of the palace is the long wide ambulatio or promenade which overlooks the Bay of Naples. At the eastern end one beholds the Sorrentine peninsula with Cape Minerva at its tip, the Amalfitan coast, and the islands of the fabled Sirens. From the western end the view gives the sweep along the northern coast of Capri to the naval base, nineteen miles away on the mainland at Cape Misenum, and its neighboring islands of Procida, Vivaria, and Ischia.

Along this promenade the troubled old emperor must often have paced during those nine long months that followed his discovery of the treason of Sejanus. It is said that during all that time Tiberius never once left the Villa Jovis but stayed, for fear of his life, within the walls of this well fortified palace, which might well be likened to an ancient Gibraltar. Opening onto the promenade is a large triclinium or dining room, on either side of which are situated cubica diurna or small bedrooms for the day-time siesta. Traces of the former sumptuous decorations of these



6. THE EASTERN TIP OF CAPRI WITH A VIEW OF THE CLIFF ON TOP OF WHICH IS THE VILLA JOVIS. FAINTLY SHOWING IN THE DISTANCE IS THE SORRENTINE PENINSULA.

rooms are still in evidence: rare marbles, mural painting, and pavements of marble and varicolored alabaster. Quite close to Tiberius' promenade, but outside the villa and reached by a short staircase, lies the ruined specularium or astronomical observatory. Here it was that the emperor often went at night in company with his astronomer Thrasyllus to study the stars.⁶

On the other side of the Villa Jovis lies the pharos or lighthouse, previously mentioned, the tower which the poet Statius was later to call "the rival of the moon."⁷ By day it was used as a signal tower from which messages could be transmitted to the fleet at Misenum and thence to Rome. Suetonius tells us that it was thrown down by an earthquake but a few days before Tiberius' death.⁸

Even before the excavations of Professor Maiuri, archaeologists were familiar with the ancient appearance of the building, since a mural discovered at Baiae during the last century contained the representation of a palace built on an island, and this had been

identified as the Villa Jovis. It was this mural which enabled the short-lived young archaeologist Weichardt to plot a reconstruction of the building. From pictures of this reconstruction which I have seen, the Villa Jovis in one respect resembles a veritable fairy castle as it crowns the height far above the beautiful blue water of the Bay of Naples. In still another respect, as it perches on its lofty crag, it bears a startling resemblance to the figurehead of some gigantic ship.

The Villa Jovis is not the only villa which Tiberius possessed on Capri. We know that in all he had twelve villas,⁹ probably all named for divinities of the Roman pantheon. Not all the sites have been identified. On the southern coast of the island, however, on the height above the Marina Piccola, are situated the ruins of another imperial villa, directly above the place where the emperor had to land when a strong wind blowing from the north rendered a landing at the larger Marina Grande impossible. On the northwestern side of the island, directly above the world-famous Blue Grotto, have only recently been excavated the ruins of another villa, that called Damecuta.

This island paradise, of almost incredible beauty, fascinating for the modern tourist as well as for the archaeologist, was indeed during the reign of Tiberius a veritable second Palatine.

NOTES

¹ Suet., Aug. 92, 2; Cassius Dio 52, 43, 2.

² For the name see Suet., Tib. 65, 2; Pliny (Nat. 3, 6, 82), however, refers to it simply as *arx Tiberii*.

³ Anciently the people of Capri were plagued as they are today by a scarcity of water. Only three springs are known to exist on the island, so that even to this day water has to be brought by boat in tanks from the mainland.

⁴ Suet., Tib., 62, 2; 14, 4; cf. Tac., Ann. 6, 20-21.

⁵ Besides the main entrance there is another entrance also fronting on the west, which opens directly into the barracks of the guards on the ground floor of the palace.

⁶ Suet., Tib. 62, 3; cf. 14, 4. Other ancient references to the close connection which existed between the emperor and his astronomer can be found in Cassius Dio 55, 11, 2-3; 57, 15, 7 and in Suet., Aug. 98, 4.

⁷ Stat., Silv., 3, 5, 100.

⁸ Suet., Tib. 74.

⁹ Tac., Ann. 4, 67.

"Little as it impinges on our consciousness, the Roman law has colored and moulded our civilization, perhaps more than any single element we have derived from those ancient societies out of which we have constructed most of our social and intellectual life."

A Glimpse of Roman Law

Max Radin

NO CLASSICAL SCHOLAR would deny that one of the greatest achievements of ancient society is the Roman law. Yet it can be said that nearly all classical scholars deliberately and systematically avoid any acquaintance with it or if, as they sometimes must, they examine some Roman legal idea or institution they deprecate with haste and trepidation any suggestion of competence in the field.

THE REASON is not far to seek. To most laymen of the present day, the law is an odd, bewildering and rather terrifying matter, and lawyers are persons with whom it is well to have as little to do as possible. This is in part due to a long history in Europe during which lawyers became something very like a caste, or at any rate, a tightly closed corporation, deliberately keeping aloof from other groups and valuing their technique the more that it grew constantly more intricate and specialized. This was particularly the case in England under the common law which we have inherited.

But let us note at once that it was not the case at Rome. Lawyers became a profession

as early as the middle of the third century B.C. but they never approached the character of a caste. Even under the Empire, when a larger and larger number of men were found who had no other function than that of expounding and applying the law, lawyers did not form a group sharply distinguished from other citizens. There was apparently neither fear nor dislike of lawyers. Cicero's *Pro Murena* is certainly no proof of the contrary.

Consequently while the social life, the literature and the art of the present day would be much the same if our law were wholly different, it is highly unlikely that this would have been so at Rome at any period of its history. To understand Roman life—and this includes the whole Mediterranean after Augustus—is not fully possible without some elementary knowledge of its law, since, differently from ourselves, every educated Roman had a little more than an elementary knowledge of it.

Perhaps the one thing that has frightened off all but specialists is the overwhelming history of the Roman law and its still more overwhelming extent. Everyone has heard of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and this terrific compilation is only part of the law although much the most important part. To master so vast a subject is obviously impossible except by a life-time of study, and most men will have a justifiable distrust of what is presented as a brief summary of a subject that has not been exhausted in several thousand volumes of commentary and nearly a thousand years of exposition and application.

Nevertheless I think it is possible to set forth the leading, or at least some of the leading, ideas of the Roman law as an indi-

(Max Radin enjoys the dual distinction of being the foremost classicist among contemporary American jurists and the foremost jurisprudent among classical scholars. It may be added that as a student of the law he holds the rank of emeritus in the faculty of the School of Jurisprudence of the University of California, is affiliated with the Institute for Advanced Study, and is presently visiting faculty member at Duke University. His classical colleagues will recall his latest book in their field (and his), *Epicurus, My Master*, a biography of Cicero's friend, Atticus (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1948).

This article has been published by arrangement with the Committee for the Diffusion of Philological Knowledge of the American Philological Association.

cation that there is nothing in that law so wholly foreign to what we have otherwise learned of Roman life that we must separate it permanently from all our pictures of ancient society. To afford this assurance, and nothing more, is attempted here. Certainly the bare outline presented in these pages is not even a preface or an introduction to any serious study of Roman law.

Basic Terms

THERE ARE, FIRST OF ALL, two basic terms to understand, *ius* and *lex*. *Ius* meant a right, both in the sense of something which could be sued for at law and in the sense of a valid defense, if one was sued. But *ius* was also a collective form for all the *iura* which all Roman citizens had, as well as all who had access to a Roman court. In this general sense it was equivalent to "law" as such, and had a number of adjectives or other phrases attached to it, *ius civile*, *ius gentium*, *ius naturale*, *ius honorarium*, *ius Quiritium*, etc. The discrimination of these phrases is generally given in the introductory pages of all textbooks on Roman law. We shall omit discussion of them here and refer to them only casually as later occasion requires.

Lex was something quite different and much more precise. The formal definition is (*Inst. Just.*, I. 2. 4): *Lex est, quod populus Romanus senatore magistratu interrogante, veluti consule, constituebat.*

This is found in the *Institutes* of Justinian, written in 528 A.D. after more than three centuries of open and avowed despotism. And even under such a *de jure* and *de facto* despotism, it was still formally declared that, properly speaking, only that was *lex* which the *populus Romanus* formally assembled by a magistrate answered to the question *Velitis iubeatis Quirites?* Anything else was *lex* only by delegation or as a figure of speech. And this *lex* in all its approximations, as they are enumerated in the *Institutes*, *plebiscitum*, *senatus consultum*, *principis constitutio*, was at all times not *ius* itself, but, as interpreted, a source of *ius*. To be sure, a source of paramount authority.

The Magistrates

IN SUCH COMMUNITIES as Rome and England in which a differentiated system of courts was developed early, law in any sense can be understood only through the court. And the essence of a Roman court was its control by a magistrate, in most instances—not in all—by a magistrate with *imperium*.

It is this word *imperium* which is the key-word to Roman private, as well as public law. It meant, I think, "paramount position," and the sense of "command" or "power" is derivative and not original. At first it was applied to the position of Rome and only by transfer came to denote the position of the Roman chief magistrates. It has no exact equivalent in our terminology. Its doublet, *maiestas*, was frequently added to it and as frequently substituted for it in speech and writing but not in the technical language of the law.

One of the titles of the first magistrates with *imperium* was *iudex*, the "pointer out" of *ius*, the man who declared where the *ius* lay between two disputants. He would doubtless have asserted as emphatically as English judges did, twenty-five centuries later, that he merely discovered and did not create *ius*, but he soon very definitely and quite consciously did make *ius*, although never arbitrarily or capriciously.

This was accomplished by the control exercised by the magistrate over the *legis actio*, the legal procedure established by statute, which was codified by the legislation of the XII Tables in 450 B.C. and got its name from that fact, although, as a ritual, in its essential form it doubtless existed long before. It may be said, incidentally, that there is no good reason for questioning the authenticity of this codification—always called *lex*, in the singular, at Rome—or of its traditional date.

The XII Tables undoubtedly contained new *iura* although they professed merely to give publicity to long-established ones, and, technical and rigid as the *legis actio* appears to us, its very technicality seemed to the mass of citizens an additional guaranty that

ius would not be "twisted" against them by the magistrates, just as a similar fear forced the codification itself.

Process and Procedure

PROCEDURE WAS ALWAYS in the open air and trials were watched by throngs of citizens, the *Quirites*, since it was the *ius Quiritium* which was set forth in the XII Tables. It was because this throng, the *corona*, was there and only when the *imperium*-bearing magistrate was fairly sure that their approval would follow, that he ventured openly to modify *ius* by refusing an *actio*, where, strictly speaking, there was no doubt about the *ius* asserted. A striking example was the refusal of the magistrate to entertain an action by an emancipated son against his father or vice versa, although in strict law there was no relationship between them at all. Such litigation offended the Roman sense of propriety. It was contrary to the *mos maiorum*, and therefore to the sense of what was right, the *bonum et aequum*, which played so large a part in the development of the law.

It was by acts of this sort that a special source of law arose, the law that was derived from the practice of the magistrate. Since the magistracy was technically called *honor*, the general term was *ius honorarium* and after 367 B.C., when a junior magistrate with *imperium* was created to relieve the others of judicial duties, *ius praetorium*, since the new magistrate retained the old title of *praetor*. The praetorian practice extended to many other devices for applying *ius*—including the *bonum et aequum*—and itself developed a customary pattern, so that a body of law arose side by side with the law based on the XII Tables and subsequent statutes (*leges*).

All this was taking place just as Rome was assuming a commanding position in Italy and, because of that, in the entire Western Mediterranean. And this political dominance necessarily implied a rapid expansion of its commercial interests. Technicalities of procedure and transactions which were formerly taken as a guaranty of security, were serious hindrances in hundreds of new economic situ-

ations. The *album* of the praetor became a substantial book and the "edict" which each new praetor published, contained more and more devices by which the substance of *ius* could be obtained without the time-consuming restrictions of the older law. Supplementary statutes helped less than the flexible activity of the practical magistrate. Indeed, as in our own legal history, statutes often appeared, merely to confirm and render precise what the court had long ago done.

By the middle of the third century B.C. when Rome, the undisputed mistress of Italy, was about to enter upon its long struggle with Carthage for the hegemony of the Mediterranean, a new factor had been created which was to make Roman law different from any type of law which had been known up to that time. The beginnings were laid of a profession of law.

It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of that fact although it is hard to demonstrate it to non-lawyers. The existence of men who concerned themselves particularly with expounding *ius*, and advising their fellow citizens about it, was more than anything else the element that was to give the Roman law a character different from that of the laws of the many other communities of the Mediterranean. The *iuris prudens*, the man who was versed in *ius* and whose services were at the disposal of citizens and magistrates was very different from the brilliant advocate, the *rhetor*, who looms so large in the history of Athens. It was the *iuris prudens* who, as a private citizen, and later as a judge and magistrate, really created the law of Rome as we know it, and it is his exposition of it which forms far the largest part of the compilation of Justinian with which the Roman Law began its conquest of most of the civilized world.

"Formulary Law"

JUST AS IT IS the existence of a legal profession which gave Roman law its special character, so it is the remarkable procedure which displaced the *legis actio* and which during the creative period of the law—roughly between 100 B.C. and 300 A.D.—enabled it both to

fuse the *ius gentium* and the *ius civile* and to adapt itself to a world of the utmost diversity and of a high degree of civilization. This was the procedure *per formulam*. Despite the suggestions of its name, it was to a large extent informal and oral, while retaining enough of a systematized pattern to ensure that sense of security in the legal process for which some system—provided it is intelligible to ordinary persons, as this procedure was—is indispensable.

The succession of pleadings in the *formula* required a sifting and a precision of the dispute between the litigants by the praetor himself, who then turned over the final settling of the dispute to a new kind of *iudex*, a private citizen and not a magistrate, who could and generally did rely on the pronouncements of learned lawyers for a decision on law, and on his own common sense and experience for a decision on facts. In criminal cases, after Sulla, there was likely to be a large panel of *iudices*, perhaps modelled on the Athenian *Heliaea*, but in Rome, as in all developed systems, the penal law was a relatively small part of the body of law.

Now, when *ius*—or rather *iura*—accumulate, as is bound to happen when social and economic life becomes complex, a demand for classification and definition is practically irresistible. It is notorious that in all matters affecting human relations definitions are extremely difficult. There is even a Roman legal maxim to that effect: *omnis definitio periculosa in iure*. But difficult or hazardous as they are, classification and definition are necessary, if only to enable lawyers to deal at all with the rapidly increasing mass of legal ideas; that is to say, to keep them in mind and discuss them.

Definitions and classifications came to Romans largely through the Stoics who were much concerned with such matters. It is probably to the Stoic-trained Quintus Mucius, the teacher of Cicero, that we owe the familiar classification in which are listed the law of persons, of things, of obligations, of succession, of procedure, and finally of crimes. There is not much to be said for this classification from the point of view of logic. It is

wholly lacking in a *principium divisionis*. But it will serve practically, and most of the *iura* the Romans knew could be learned in connection with these terms.

Family and Marriage

AS FAR AS THE LAW of persons is concerned, we come at once to what may be called the most important figure in the Roman law, the *pater-familias*. He is the person in whom all *iura* meet. He has all the three forms of status, i.e., *caput*. He is free, since a slave could not be a *pater-familias*. He is a citizen, since an alien could not be one. And he can acquire and own every type of property and assume every relationship that the law recognizes, and to a large extent only he can.

A man became a *pater-familias* when his father died, provided that all his other male ancestors were also dead. As long as his father was still alive, he was only a *filius familias*, no matter how old he was himself, and, if his father was dead, he was a *pater-familias* even if he were a new born babe. Over his slaves he exercised *dominium*; over his children and grand-children, *potestas*; over his wife he had at one time exercised *manus*, but this had become practically obsolete by the first century B.C. except in a rather rare form of ritual marriage, the *confarreatio*.

Evidently *manus* had once been a general word for all this form of power, since to free a slave or a son from it was called "taking him out of *manus*," *emancipare*, or *manu mittere*. The emancipated slave was free, but, as a *libertus*, his former owner was his *patronus* and this relationship involved a great many claims and duties chiefly for the patron's benefit. The emancipated son was, strictly speaking, himself a *pater-familias*, but as we have seen, the actual fact of relationship was not lost sight of.

As for the wife, she remained within the *potestas* of her father and if he died, she was free and legally competent, except that she was under a kind of formal guardianship (*tutela*) which did not in fact trouble her much.

Marriage was a contract. If the couple were both under *potestas*, the contract was

made between the two fathers. That was the *sponsalia*. The relation of husband and wife began when the groom took his bride into his home—or his father's home. No ceremony was necessary. The hymeneal festivities of which we hear so much in the poets were of social and not legal import.

And while marriage was an informal contract, divorce was still more informal. Like all contracts marriage could be ended by mutual consent. This last was so deeply imbedded in the institution, that when Justinian in 544 A.D. sought in the interests of Christian morality to abolish the consent divorce, it was promptly reintroduced by his successor in 566 A.D.

As a matter of fact, divorce was possible at the choice of either party. The only check upon it was the legal and stringently enforced obligation to restore the *dos*, the dowry which the wife brought to the marriage to help defray the joint expenses of the household. The husband managed the *dos*, but on divorce he was accountable for it, and in the great majority of cases men of moderate means would find it hard to make this account. For that reason it was not safe, scarcely decent, for a father to fail to provide a *dos* for his daughter. She would, if undowered, be subject to any capricious change in her husband's affections.

Ownership

THE LAW OF THINGS was simplified very early in the history of Rome, and the process of simplification began when the praetorship was created. The older technicalities were disregarded although not formally abolished! The most important question in this branch of the law was how the complex of *iura* which we call "ownership," or title, was transferred. It was done by delivery, and when there could be no actual handing over, as in the case of land, by permitting or aiding the new owner to take possession.

Ownership, I have said, is not a single thing, but a complex of *iura*, and some of these could be separated from others. A man might have a right of way over some one else's land with which the owner of the land

could not legally interfere, or a right to light and air which would prevent his neighbor from building on his own land in such a way as to interfere with light and air. They spoke of this as giving one estate (*praedium*) a "servitude" over another, and this branch of the Roman law has been in large measure taken over by our own law, the "common law."

But there was one "servitude," the personal servitude called *usufructus*, which played a large part in the history of both the Roman law and the systems derived from it and which our common law did not take over. It consisted in giving to a person the use and enjoyment of a thing for periods as long as fifty or a hundred years, while the grantor retained the ownership. The usufructuary sometimes paid a small periodic rent and generally a lump sum when the usufruct was created. And, of course, he was not permitted to destroy or render worthless what he did not quite own.

It may be noted, as a matter of semantic history, that when the usufruct was subtracted from the ownership, what was left in the hands of the owner was called *proprietas*, from which the word "property," in the sense in which it is commonly used, is probably derived.

Obligations and Contracts

WHERE THE ROMAN LAW left its most emphatic mark on the modern systems which are derived from it—the systems in vogue in nearly all the modern world except in the countries of English speech—was in the law of obligation. A man became bound in a number of ways to do something and this bond could be enforced by an *actio*, a suit at law. He became bound either by entering into a contract or by doing some injurious act. In the latter case what he was bound to do was to make the injury good and in most instances to pay a penalty besides. The contracts, on the other hand, arose out of transactions which sprang from the many associations, economic and social, in which men were necessarily engaged. They were things like loans, pledges, mortgages, deposits of prop-

erty with friends and neighbors, and so on.

Such things fell into type-situations and people could scarcely fail to be aware that the doing of these things involved a promise and therefore an obligation to do something in the future. And there were several type-transactions of enormous importance in economic life in which the obligation to do something was precise and conscious. These were matters like sales, leases—and in leases the Romans included the hiring of services which was of course far less important in ancient times than in ours—partnerships, and the various forms of agency (*mandatum*). And finally there was a formal contract which could have as varied a content as possible. This was the famous *stipulatio*, created by question and answer (*Spondesne? Spondeo; Dabisne? Dabo*) and not created unless this form was followed, no matter how clear the agreement was.

All this, of course, in only the barest outline of how people get themselves tied up legally with others in such a form that they could untie themselves only by doing either what they had promised or what *ex fide bona* they ought to do. And one of the things that tied them more than anything else was, as has been already pointed out, the obligation to make good a wrong done.

Wrongs and "Injuries"

TWO TYPES OF WRONG were known from ancient times, theft (*furtum, rapina*) which consisted in reducing a man's property by the simple process of taking his goods away from him, and *iniuria*, a word which is hard to translate and of which the essence lay in the fact that the victim was lowered in the estimation of his fellows. The legal remedy, in both cases, involved more than compensation. The wrong-doer had, besides, to pay a penalty, two, three or four times the article stolen, or an amount fixed by negotiation (*taxatio*) in the case of *iniuria*.

Then, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., a magistrate named Aquilius, of whom we know nothing else, introduced an action named after him *actio Aquilia* or *legis Aquiliae*. By it any injury to property, willful or

negligent, involved a duty of compensation, but in most instances merely compensation. The original Aquilian action was fairly limited but it was broadened until it ended by creating an obligation to make good any kind of measurable wrong, and in this form became a general rule in all "civil-law" countries. It may be said in passing that the common law has not as yet quite attained so general a basis for its liability for wrongs (torts).

It is at this point that we may consider an element that is always present in the minds of persons when "law" is mentioned. Did the wrongdoer merely make good the wrong done and pay a money penalty, or could he be punished as well, as crimes are punished today? After all, theft and robbery are serious matters in society, and a common form of *iniuria* was assault and battery, as in the case of the Greek *hybris*. In other words, what was the relation of the penal law to the law just described, the law permitting an action for injuries?

The striking thing is that the Romans had no word for "criminal law" or "penal law," although, as all familiar with ancient history know, they had both crimes and methods of punishment. But what they certainly did not have was a district attorney, a public prosecutor, a *procureur de la république* or *Staatsanwalt*. Yet it was most decidedly a fact that a man guilty of a deliberate injury to another could be punished, as well as compelled to make good the loss to his victim.

The most general form of punishment, since in the Republic flogging and execution had long been abolished for Roman citizens, was exile, which in the Empire became differentiated into relegation for the upper classes and deportation—generally to an island—for the lower classes. Later in the Empire, capital punishment was re-introduced, especially for the many varieties of treason, i.e. *maiestas*.

Prosecution

IT IS THE PROCEDURE that interests us. A magistrate had the right of *coercitio*, i.e. of summarily punishing an offense committed in

his presence. But in general the matter was managed by permitting any citizen, *quivis ex populo*, to bring an action against the wrongdoer asking for his punishment rather than for compensation. The victim of the wrong was preferred as prosecutor, but if he did not come forward anyone else might. And from this fact, what we call a criminal prosecution was called in Rome an *actio popularis* or *publicum iudicium*.

It seems to have been Solon who devised this method of making prosecution more likely than when it was purely a private matter between a victim and a wrongdoer. And in doing so he laid the foundation for the difference between crime and "tort." In Rome the criminal law entered on a new course by the legislation of Sulla, who prepared what was almost a penal code in which many old categories of offenses—especially those under *iniuria*—were clarified and expanded, and the trial of the cases referred to a number of *quaestiones*, panels which were at first confined to senators and then to the three highest classes of the census, the senators, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury. Classical scholars will most readily remember the *quaestio* from Cicero's orations for Archias and for Milo. The members of the *quaestio*, the *iudices*, were something between judges and jurymen. They were judges of both law and fact, and there was no appeal or right of tribunician intercession. The Cornelian laws of Sulla were supplemented by very extensive penal laws under Augustus, of which the most important were the *leges Iuliae de vi*.

Inheritance

ONE FINAL GROUP of *iura* was connected with the problems created by the death of the *pater-familias*. The ancient law as codified in the XII Tables had much to say of that. The succession to the manifold kinds of property of the deceased ought normally to come to the family—i.e. the men who had been under the *potestas*. They were the "right heirs," the *sui heredes*, whatever the origin of that disputed term is.

But the *pater-familias*, at first only with the consent of the most ancient of Roman

parliaments, the *curiata comitia*, and then without that formal consent, was permitted to dispose of the *hereditas* or part of it, by the simple process of appointing other persons as *heredes* who were not *sui heredes*. The *heres* was now an executor, rather than an heir, although he generally was both, as is the case now. The history of testamentary succession became thereafter an account of the gradual limitation of the right of disposing of property by will. It became necessary to prevent the multiplying of legacies to the total exclusion of the *heres*; then, to protect creditors; and finally to provide for members of the family, who, it was felt, ought not to be deprived of all share in the inheritance by an undutiful testator. This last limitation, called today the "*portio legitima*" or the "*legitim*," is practically universal among the countries of the "civil law" and in one form or another has been adopted in many American states.

This development which began with a gradual establishment of freedom of disposition by will and ended with an increasing tendency to limit it, was repeated with curious similarity in the history of the common law, and in both systems ingenious devices of lawyers were multiplied to evade the law, devices which in turn were met by legislation. The most interesting at Rome was the creation of the *fidei-commissum*, something very much like our testamentary trust by which, later on, an attempt was made to keep property permanently in one family. Out of it arose the institution known in medieval law as the *maioratus*, a close analogue of the English entail, and both were the special targets of the post-Revolutionary reforms.

Bonum et Aequum

OBVIOUSLY, in these few pages nothing more than a glimpse of the actual provisions of the Roman law can be given. But something must be said of the general and continuous movement by which technical exactitude and ritual precision, which were highly valued in the early stages, were gradually loosened and humanized for the very reason that seemed to make strictness necessary at

first. They were taken to be securities for justice and they became serious obstacles. The *ius Quiritium* which was conceived of as a property right was confronted with the *bonum et aequum* which was, in a sense, an almost inevitable inference from the power of the praetor—the magistrate with *imperium*—to qualify the unlimited exercise of an undoubted *ius*.

The nature of the phrase is one that is readily intelligible to classical scholars. It is a *heniadiadys*. It describes what was "good" or "right" because it is "fair," i.e. because it gives each litigant what it was proper for him to have. Whether *aequum* has any etymological connection with the Greek *εἰκός*, *ἐπεικές* may be doubted. But the sense is close to what Aristotle at least understood by the term *ἐπεικές*. And whereas *bonum et aequum* at first was necessarily understood as little more than "in accordance with custom," it soon enough became enlarged to include a growing sense that men of moral integrity do not insist on means of oppressing others, even if they could be justified by literal compliance with the law. This last was old enough to have an archaic formulation, *ut inter bonos bene agere oportet*, "as ought to be done by right-thinking men, acting rightly toward each other."

Continually, by their control of the formula, praetors pushed cases that plaintiffs sought to have decided by strict law into the field of the *bonum et aequum*, the field in which people were obligated only *ex fide bona*. And in the first century of the Empire, Celsus, a sharp and practical lawyer with no philosophical pretensions, boldly announced what has become the tritest of Roman law citations "*Jus est ars boni et aequi*," "Law is a device for attaining the *bonum et aequum*."

The Roman Law

THE GREAT PERIOD of the Roman law which began with the organization of professional law schools under—or shortly after—Augustus ended in the anarchy that followed the murder of Alexander Severus in 235 A.D. The names of the men who conducted its development are household words among

European lawyers and up to the French Revolution were equally known to English lawyers. Among them are such names as Julian, Papinian, Ulpian, Paul, Modestinus. In their hands, the Roman law became both sophisticated and humane. It has been noted that Papinian who held court in York in 211 A.D. applied a law there which in many respects was more developed than the law in force in that same place sixteen centuries later, and perhaps than the law still in force there.

The Roman law that has come down to us is not quite the law of Papinian. Between 528 and 535 A.D. the Emperor Justinian appointed a number of commissions which ended by preparing what since about 1600 A.D. has been called the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. It had three parts, a *Codex* (Code) which contained a sifted and revised selection of imperial "constitutions," (i.e. decisions, decrees, edicts of the emperors) between the time of Hadrian and that of Justinian; the *Digest* or *Pandects*—much the largest part—containing, in fifty books, selected material from the writings of jurists between 90 B.C. and about 270 A.D.; and finally the *Institutes*, an elementary text-book based on a similarly named text-book of Gaius of about 150 A.D., but completely rewritten by Justinian's minister, Tribonian, or under his direction.

To these three parts, there were later added 168 new (*novellae*) constitutions, by Justinian himself and a few of his successors. The last of these is of the year 575 A.D. These "Novels" were never collected into a single compilation till medieval times.

Transmission

THE ENTIRE LEGISLATION remained the law of the Eastern Roman Empire till its downfall in 1453 A.D. In the West, the barbarian invasions almost—but not quite—caused it to disappear, but in the 12th century its study was revived in Bologna. Indeed it was this revival that gave rise to the modern university. From that time on it became the "imperial law," the "common law of Europe," rapidly crowding out most of the customary local laws, and this process was immensely

furthered by the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Even in England, where the local feudal law which became our "common law" opposed the most effective resistance of any encountered by this legal invasion, the influence of the legislation of Justinian was lasting and far-reaching. It may be said that nearly all educated men knew the Institutes as well as they knew the Bible.

The general character of the Roman law as we meet it in the *Corpus*—since it is convenient to use this relatively recent term—is clear enough. The process of testing law by its equitable result had gone on between Celsus and the *Corpus*, and "equity" became much more like "humanitarianism" than it had been before. But parallel with this process and to some extent counteracting it, was the increasing reliance on severity of administration. The process by formula gave way to the "libellary process," which ceased to be oral and became written and documentary, and a whole series of official judges,

ranging from lower to higher, intervened between litigants and the final decision of their cause. The most important and most favored of litigants was the *fiscus*, the imperial Treasury, that is, the financial arm of the state, and the *bonum et aequum* was rarely heard when it was the question of a claim of the *fiscus* against a citizen.

But with all this, it is certainly a most extraordinary result that a vast legal system, developed in a slave economy and against a background of philosophic paganism, should have been with little adjustments capable of serving the needs of the Christian societies not only of feudal and Renaissance Europe, but after the turn of the 17th century, also of the credit and capitalist economy of our own day. *Little as it impinges on our consciousness, the Roman law has colored and moulded our civilization, perhaps more than any single element we have derived from those ancient societies out of which we have constructed most of our social and intellectual life.*

—Liber Animalium

SCIURUS

QUIS CREDERE potest animal quod loquella Americana saepe *skwurl* vocatur de lingua Graeca derivatum nomen habere? Huius nominis significatio est 'caudae umbra,' nam olim credebatur dormiens pro tegumento cauda uti solere. Quae fabula de sciuris qui humi habitant vera esse certe non potest quia caudam parvulam habent. Qui in arboribus habitant eorum cauda long villosaque est.

Omnium animalium alacerrimi sunt. Mos eorum est raro ambulare, saepe salire, saepius celerrime currere. Similes sunt homini iuridico in fabula Chauceriana qui semper occupator videbatur quam erat. Si quis forte prope eos venit, de ramo in ramum saliant iracundi tamen quam si exclament "Videte quam occupati simus."

Industrii re vera sunt neque desinunt nuces celare quamdiu nuces inveniri possunt. Inscii utiles sunt quod in terram nuces defodiunt quae postea arbores felices fiunt. Hoc modo silva latius extenditur.

Audaces quoque, pugnaces et minaces sunt. Diligenter petunt qua via in tecta inire

possint. Nido ibi posito, huc illuc noctu ita concursant ut nemo dormire possit. Paterfamilias ira vana concutitur. Nihil est quod faciat. Interea sciuri laeti inter se acriter contendunt. Quam maximum strepitum faciunt. Locus vacuus sub tecto iis circo maximo fit.

In arboribus interdum ferociter pugnant finesque suos fortiter defendunt. Saepius tamen omnia minari caudasque ira vibrare non sine strepitu perpetuo malunt. Similes sunt pueris qui de fenestra superiore pollicentur se quemvis puerum subter in via depugnatos esse.

Cives tamen Americani sciuro gratiam singularem debent quod eius auxilio revolutio illa gloriosa effecta est. Nam illi coloni prisci quorum bombus circum mundum auditus est venatores sciurorum fuerunt. Dicere non opus est milites qui uno glante plumbeo de arbore altissima animal parvulum alacreque deicere didicissent postea hostes grandes tardosque humi progredientes facillime prosternere potuisse.

ANON.

Trends and Events

Edited by Dorrance S. White

TEACHING DEMOCRACY VIA CICERO

THERE IS AN INCREASING tendency today to draw lessons for daily living from the Latin subject-matter. It is interesting to note to what extent teachers of Cicero's orations are concerned with *Educating for Citizenship*. Juanita M. Downes of the Cheltenham High School of Elkins Park, Pa., reminds us that Pennsylvania's State Department of Education was authorized by the 1947 legislative enactment to spend \$200,000 on revising the elementary, secondary, and vocational curricula with a view to educating for citizenship. Latin teachers of Miss Downes' school have allied themselves with the movement. We are aware, of course, that this is not a new movement. It is hardly a *trend*. And yet it is a significant emphasis, which has been, to a greater or less degree, in all Latin textbooks published since the *Report of 1924*. Highlights of Miss Downes' correspondence are the following:

"To give a very practical turn to the third-year study of Latin in particular, and to strive to make the content of that historical subject-matter more meaningful while learning to unravel the intricacies of the Latin itself, we chose as the theme of the year, 'Democracy'—What did that word connote in Cicero's day?—What does it mean today?—What are the prerogatives and responsibilities of its citizenry?—individually and as a body politic?

"Our proposition was to select economical, educational, governmental, and religious problems that appealed to us individually as we read the Latin, noting the Latin text with translation and paralleling each with quotations and passages from current reading that had a direct bearing on the problem under study, with the last assignment a brief statement of one's own philosophy in the light of the Biblical four-square point of view of 'growth in stature, in wisdom, and in favor with God and man.'"

We cannot forbear to editorialize a bit on this. We wish more students all over the country were reading Cicero's orations, and

we should like to have them go home from their classes and remind their parents of some of the main tenets of Democracy: to know where their children are at all times; to keep them off the streets and out of autos at unseemly hours; to become themselves less ardent devotees of the dance hall and more enthusiastic about the public library and the lecture hall; to drink less, smoke less, and in other ways consider that the good life is more likely to be attained by discipline and self-control than by a free, untrammelled, pleasure-seeking existence. It may be true (although I don't believe it) that the next generation will see no Latin; but it is a certainty that if we don't do something about teaching true Democracy, another generation won't see Democracy.

WHAT THE TEACHER OF LATIN CAN DO IN SPITE OF THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOL POPULATION

A COMMAND TO LATIN teachers not to look back "with nostalgic longing to the days when our subject held a place of vested interest in the curriculum," but to find out what they can do to "make it hold its place on its own merits as a subject of real usefulness to *all kinds of people*," is contained in a message, just received, from Miss Emilie Margaret White, Director of Foreign Languages, Public Schools of the District of Columbia. Her contribution includes the following facts and admonitions:

The Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education (1947) gives the enrollment in secondary schools as 695,903 in 1900, a round total of 6,200,000 in 1947, and a peak of 7,113,282 in 1940. It goes on to say that 49% of the population has the mental ability to complete 14 years of general and vocational studies leading to gainful employment or advanced study, and that 32% has the ability to complete an advanced liberal or specialized education. That last statement has a special message for us (Miss White writes). Is there something that we can do to improve the status of Latin in the schools? Miss White thinks there is, and she submits the following proposals:

1. Change our ideas about who should study Latin. Most children can get something of value from at least a little of it.
2. Don't wait until high school to begin Latin. Start, if possible, in the elementary school with planned work in derivatives, abbreviations, mottoes and classical allusions.
3. Start real Latin learning in the 8th grade with a non-academic approach. Use some of the aural-oral techniques of modern language teaching. Greatly curtail demands for form mastery and let pupils get some knowledge of the rest from as large a recognitional vocabulary as they can take, and from the first day give them connected Latin to read and talk about (in Latin).
4. Put the emphasis always on *meaning* and on getting the sense without vocabulary-thumb-ing.
5. At the elementary stage stress what is of personal interest to children and on the aliveness of the Latin all about them.
6. Keep teaching methods functional even after academic study has begun. Keep always in mind that a pupil's greatest need is a sense of security in whatever he is doing.
7. From a broad base at the early start gradually select those who are really to study Latin, not by failing the weak, but by wise counseling into a different field, as any given individual reaches a point beyond which success is unlikely except with undue effort, and perhaps not then.
8. Send out boys and girls who are *happy* in their memory of Latin, no matter how short their experience with it. A favorable community attitude is a vital necessity.
9. Work harmoniously with officers and with teachers in other fields in planning an all-over program that will represent give and take by all. A sympathetic and understanding attitude on the part of colleagues and administrators is essential.
10. Work towards tuition-free 13th and 14th years, in order to lessen the keen competition for electives and to provide for *all* the needs of a general education.

Quality must not and need not be sacrificed (Miss White continues). "It is folly to waste public or private money trying to teach children who fail because they are attempting what is for them the impossible. Make Latin at the beginning stage possible for all. Start

early with a broad base and with a method adapted to the many. Take every individual as far as he can go with chance of success, eliminating the unable warily, not by the simple, but fatal, process of failure but by friendly and wise counselling. The able gain, rather than lose, by such a start, and it enables a great many more persons to know at least a little Latin. Finally, a favorably inclined general public of ordinary everyday, run-of-the-mill people who enjoyed Latin they had and are willing to say so to their neighbors is a *sine qua non* for its survival in the schools. That we must achieve, or we shall ourselves be obliged to mourn at the bier of secondary school Latin."

Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles corroborates Miss White on many points. He reminds Latin teachers that the educational world has changed in type and number of students, in objectives, in requirements, in materials, and in methods. He feels that too many Latin teachers have not adjusted themselves to these changes. He writes that "If Latin is going to survive in the present educational world, it must (1) be adapted to mass education and taught on a level that all who can graduate from high school can comprehend; (2) it must be useful and educationally valid for everybody in high school; (3) it must have high surrender value; (4) it must be able to compete with other subjects in immediate value, such as word-study, ideas, correlation with everyday life and other studies; (5) it must be made interesting, through attractive reading materials in Latin and in English, and in visual aids; (6) its acquisition must be made easy, i.e. it must require no more time than that required by other subjects and should not necessitate drudgery; (7) and the pupil must be assured accomplishment.

AUDIO-VISUAL EDUCATION AGAIN

An audio-visual education conference was held at Ann Arbor in July under the auspices of the University of Michigan. Recordings of speeches given in early spring at Detroit were run off and the points of the speeches discussed by a panel of students majoring in Education.

This activity might well be imitated by Latin teachers. Various kinds of Latin recitations could be recorded, similar to (but better than, we hope) those presented at the conference held at Oxford, Ohio, last June 18. For example, an ardent apostle of the so-called Reading Method might compete with one equally ardent for the modified Grammar-Translation method. Even a graying disciple of Chickering and Hoadley might enter the fray. One glorious feature of such a program would be that the chairman need not tap an impatient foot. One turn of the knob—that's all.

Wire-recorded Latin reading goes on apace at the Shorewood High School, Milwaukee. Miss Edith Atchison reports that she has been using the wire-recording device in both beginning and Vergil classes with considerable profit. As early as February of this year she introduced the *Argonauts* with Judith Anderson's fine reading of the *Medea* (recorded by Decca with the addition of male actors for Jason, Creon, and Aegeus. The cost is \$10.00). "My classes are already looking forward to their second listening as the climax of their translation," Miss Atchison wrote at the time. "Some of my children's families are in manufacturing industries, so I spent a couple of days on trade names that they created. I suppose the recent 'Ipsophone,' 'Ammodent,' and 'Video,' influenced my decision to devote some time to it."

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF CICERO'S LETTERS

IT IS UNFORTUNATE that one of the most valuable books for teaching lessons in citizenship to high school boys and girls has gone out of print. I refer to *Letters of a Roman Gentleman* by Arthur P. McKinlay (Houghton Mifflin Company). Since the trend these days is to put increasing emphasis upon the twenty-one ultimate objectives in Latin teaching, one of which is "a broader understanding of social and political problems of today", and "the development of right attitudes toward social situations" (*Report of the Classical Investigation*, I, p. 33 ff., 1924), the teachers should pick up any available copies of McKinlay's book and read to second and third year classes the letters which are pertinent. Professor McKinlay (known to our classical conferences as "the little man with the eye-shade"), an eminent scholar with a fine sense of humor, divided his work into Famous Letters, Humorous Letters, Letters to, from, or about Famous Persons, Letters of Literary Interest, Letters of Interest to Students of Shakespeare, Letters of Interest to Students of High School Latin, Letters of Interest to Students of Political Science. I broadcast the letters of Cicero from the studio one semester, in conjunction with the storytelling feature of Ovid, Petronius, and Apuleius, using among others Professor McKinlay's book, and while I cannot vouch for the Hooper rating, the response was good.

D.S.W.

FROM THE BLUE BOOKS

WITH a nod to the Webster Groves *Latinus Rumor*:

What was the Age of Pericles?

I'm not sure, but I reckon he was about forty.

Rome came to have many luxuries and baths. They took two baths in two days; that's the cause of the fall of Rome.

Rome was overthrown by invasions of the Huns, Visigoths, and Osteopaths.

Hades was the place where the immortals went

when they died.

In the Olympic games they ran races, jumped, hurled the biscuits and threw the java. The reward to the victor was a coral wreath.

The Romans reclined on one elbow and ate with the other.

At Roman banquets the guests wore garlands on their heads.

The Cloaca Maxima was the sewer that made Rome great.

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We See By the Papers

Edited by William C. Salyer

"FROM PYRAMIDS TO PICASSO" heads and describes an interview with Professor David M. Robinson of the University of Mississippi published by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* April 24, 1949. An entertaining account of the "grand old man of archeology, science of grand old things," who taught 43 years at Johns Hopkins and retired in 1947 to resume teaching at Mississippi, touches on his early reputation as a prodigy, the achievements of his former students, his excavations abroad, ideas on art and sports, etc., etc.

A somewhat heavier article stressing the continuity of Western art was clipped from the *New York Times* of April 24, 1949, by Mrs. J. Curtis Newlin of Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Describing an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum, and reviewing its special handbook, the writer discusses in some detail "three major ways in which Hellenism is incorporated into later art: . . . myths and subject-matter, . . . the humanistic point of view, . . . inexhaustible forms and techniques."

"THANKS TO THE JUNKMAN," says *TIME* (August 1), a beautiful marble relief of an Athiopian slave and a horse saddled with a panther skin has been preserved for Greek archaeologists of 1949. Its practically perfect preservation is owed to the fact that its two slabs were used for the lining of a tomb. Now they fit together without a hitch, and the slave's skin is still partly colored with the original brown paint. The work is dated 125 B.C. *TIME* has an excellent photograph.

THE POEMS of Robert Frost are characterized, in the Book Review section of the *New York Times* of May 29, in terms of classical literature. "At his best he is in the tradition of Hesiod and, to a different degree, of Theocritus and Virgil, as well as of the English Georgians. The Latin strain in his poetry is very real: we do not need his "Build Soil," a Virgilian pastoral dialogue, to persuade us of his Latin affiliations. There is

something of the Republican Roman about him—something of the elder Cato, who wrote the "De Re Rustica" and spent much of his life attacking the luxury and refinement associated with Greek as opposed to Roman civilization (Cato's nationalism has its parallelism in Frost's), and something, too, of Lucretius, who at the same time attacked the formal religion of his day and in the very opening lines of his great philosophical poem implied a faith in a god of nature that belied his professional skepticism. The Latin epigrammatists, too, helped to sharpen his pen, and he is not afraid to make a point with wit and neatness that let it go at that." (Thanks to Lt. Col. S. G. Brady, Asheville, N. C.)

IF WE CAN believe what we see by the papers, language teachers may expect to become victims of technological unemployment, along with various financial clerks, weather prognosticators, and others whose work can be done better by machinery when a new electric brain developed by the U. S. Bureau of Standards really gets down to work. The press release says that it can store up in its memory device millions of words and supply three foreign equivalents for each English word of the 60,000 or more words in Webster's *Collegiate Dictionary*, with the added suggestion that it can translate from one language to another (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch* May 31). Well, we have known students in college who thought they could do it with less than three equivalents to a word.

Joseph Dunninger, mentalist, would be a good sales prospect when they get a pocket-size model on the market. *TIME* for July 4 gave an account of his feats of mind-reading, with which he has mystified presidents, scientists, and others including the Pope, who, however, gave him a bad time, he admitted, by thinking in Latin.

MORE ON LATIN as an international language, in two clippings from the *Denver Register* supplied by Professor W. C. Korfmacher of St. Louis University. Revilo P. Oliver's thoughts on the subject, *CJ* 44:264-268 (cf. also 44:422), evoked an editorial which notes the utility of Latin in differentiating more than 600,000 species of insects and cites its widespread use in earlier centuries of the modern period. Erasmus, for instance, could not readily speak any other language.

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 98



FULVIA, ROMAN MATRON

"PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAMS TO WHICH PARENTS AND PUBLIC ARE INVITED—PAGEANTS, DRAMATIZATION OF MYTHS, OR PLAY-READINGS BY STUDENTS, MOVIES DEPICTING LIFE IN CLASSICAL

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Democracy in education does not require
that we call everybody "darling."

Latin by Popular Demand

Walter V. Kaulfers

Teaching formal grammar to high school students as the easiest way to learn a language is like calling "beans" phaseolus vulgaris humilis for short.

Mental discipline has been demoted as an objective, for the world has lost confidence in intellectuals who have no purpose beyond the worship of their own minds.

TOO MANY WITH TOO LITTLE. If public-school statistics are at all reliable, between ten and fifteen percent of the high-school students of the United States enrol in Latin classes¹ sometime during their secondary-school careers. In many schools it is still the only foreign language taught. In fact, in some localities the number of young people taking Latin is almost as large as the enrolment in all the modern languages combined. Far more important, however, is the belief—whether or not fact—that a larger percentage of our adolescent population receives instruction in Latin as a school subject today than the youth of any country since the fall of the Roman Empire. Although it is true that Latin was for centuries not only a required

school subject, but also the very core of the curriculum, it is also true that the schools which taught Latin enrolled less than fifteen percent of the teen-age youth of the land. The secondary schools of England, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and Latin America have all been, and in some cases still are, practical illustrations of a double-track system of education based on the concept of "classics for the classes and handwork for the masses."

The most disturbing fact about Latin teaching in American education, therefore, is not primarily the fluctuation in total enrolments that affect school subjects from time to time, but rather the small number of pupils who continue the language beyond the first two years. Whether the percentage of those who take Latin for only two or three semesters is greater or smaller than the percentage of young people who now continue beyond the first year of a modern language, or who would take more than a year of English or social studies, if these subjects were entirely elective, is not of so great importance as the implication of the fact itself for curriculum and instruction in the language and literature of the Roman world.

The limited exposure to second-language

[Professor Kaulfers has won nation-wide prominence for his work in foreign-language instruction methods. Now at the University of Illinois, he began his work on the Pacific coast, being affiliated first with San Diego State Teachers College, then Long Beach Junior College and Stanford University. He has taken a leading role in developing the concept of a foreign language as a cultural package, so to speak, rather than a system of words linked by a certain kind of formal logic.]

TIMES, AND ILLUSTRATED TALKS BY COMPETENT OUTSIDERS—ALL DESERVE ENCOURAGEMENT ON SCHOOL TIME," WRITES WALTER V. KAULFERS ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE. WE HAVE NOT SEEN A MORE PERSUASIVE ARGUMENT FOR THE STUDY OF LATIN THAN THE MATERFAMILIAS SHOWN ABOVE, OTHERWISE A STUDENT PARTICIPATING IN LATIN WEEK 1949 AT THE SOUTH SIDE HIGH SCHOOL, FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, ON APRIL 21 LAST. AND CJ IS INDEBTED TO MISS GERTRUDE J. OPPELT FOR THE PHOTOGRAPH.

study that characterizes American education has long been the concern of leaders in the teaching of the ancient and modern tongues. If all young people who attend high schools came from the same social and economic level as the European youth for whom the *gymnasium*, *liceo* or *lycée* were almost exclusively designed, the Old World solution of simply requiring four to nine years of Latin would be more practical of enforcement than it is in the public secondary schools of the United States. Although the American high school is primarily a four-year institution, all who enter it are not able to stay until graduation. In fact, the probabilities are now ten to one that the child of underprivileged parents will not remain in school even as far as the ninth grade.² In such circumstances, a blanket requirement would perhaps be far more productive of public opposition than of increased enrolments in advanced Latin courses. The objective must be, "Latin by popular demand rather than Latin by unpopular command." Even if all students who enter high school remained the entire four years, a requirement would in most cases still be financially impossible to enforce in present conditions of school support. Since the majority of secondary schools enrol less than three hundred students,³ the number of eligible pupils remaining in school by the end of the sophomore year is seldom large enough to form a class of the size that a community can afford to maintain. For the reasons just mentioned, more promising ways and means than prescription must be sought.

WORLD LITERATURE COURSES WITH OPTIONAL READING IN THE ORIGINAL OR IN TRANSLATION. Although it may not be feasible for any but the very largest high schools to maintain separate third and fourth-year classes, it should be quite possible for even the smallest school to afford any interested student the opportunity to maintain contact with the language throughout the junior and senior years. Inasmuch as a large percentage of Latin teachers are also part-time teachers of English, most schools should have little dif-

ficulty in introducing an elective upper-division course in World Literature—conducted almost entirely on the differentiated contract plan, with occasional book-discussion forums—in which the students may do their reading either in the original language or in translation, and each receive credit in whichever language the reading is done. The introduction of such an offering would enable many teachers of Latin to draw more fully upon their background in training and experience, and also afford any interested student with two years of classwork in Latin the opportunity to maintain contact with the language throughout high school. If enrolment in such a course is counted, as it should be, in satisfaction of the school's demand for a third or fourth year of English, the congestion of requirements that often causes students to drop language study can be substantially relieved.

LATIN AS AN OPTIONAL SUBSTITUTE FOR COURSE WORK IN ENGLISH. Organizations such as the American Classical League, the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, and the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, might well cooperate in making advanced offerings in world languages and literatures an acceptable alternative for third or fourth-year work in English or Social Studies. In fact, wherever achievement test scores in English show a student to be well ahead of his age and grade level in reading and composition, the privilege of substituting work in a second language—especially Latin—might well become standard practice. Rulings to this effect can be obtained from local and State Boards of Education, if teachers of world literatures and languages take time to cultivate the support of lay groups whose interest in what schools cost can easily be extended to include what they teach. If, during the past two decades, our various language associations had been able to take as strong an interest in the promotion of good public relations as in purely linguistic or literary pursuits, many high-school classes which fell slightly short of minimum enrolments would not have been

discontinued. Parents as representatives of community organizations would have induced Boards of Education to modify the rules regarding advanced courses. Although it is by no means too late to make amends, the situation can no longer be saved everywhere by spotty efforts at damage control. For this reason, proposals for strengthening the position of the Classics in the curriculum in terms of content with a more varied appeal and greater holding-power deserve consideration. To anticipate that one solution will be equally applicable in the Bible Belt, the Corn Belt, the Wheat Belt, the Fruit Belt, and the industrial areas of the nation would, perhaps, be over-optimistic in a country whose smallest state is larger in both area and population than the four smallest countries of Europe put together. Instead, all possible ways of strengthening both the enrolment in, and holding power of the Latin course should be evaluated.

BRINGING CLASSICAL LITERATURE WITHIN THE READING-RANGE OF THE FIRST TWO YEARS. Considering the fact that classes in Latin, where elective, generally attract more select students than almost any other school subject,⁴ the possibility of introducing Latin authors earlier than is now generally the case should be practical in many schools, provided the necessary changes in the approach to Latin recommended by Paul Diederich, Lenore Geweke, and the Committee on Educational Policies of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South are adopted.⁵ These changes imply teaching grammar only as needed to facilitate comprehension of the printed page, and learning Latin from the start by using it rather than just reciting it. A suitable slogan for this approach to the Classics may well be, "By reading to learn, they learn to read."

Success in implementing these recommendations also presupposes that teachers and textbook writers will acquire facility in the use of modern procedures in the teaching of reading and in making practical use of such excellent vocabulary and syntax studies as are now available for relieving the assembly-

line dreariness of the older systems of language study. The fact that mastery of the semantic functions of only 18 endings will provide the grammatical knowledge required to read 92.5 percent of the Latin literature that has ever been edited for school use⁶ should have great practical significance for teachers who wish to concentrate class time and attention where it will count most, instead of dissipating it in a chain-reaction of conjugations, declensions, or paradigms. No teaching is good which spends so much time checking the invoice and specifications that none is left in which to enjoy the article. Teaching formal grammar in high school as the easiest way to learn a language is like calling "*beans*" *phaseolus vulgaris humilis* for short.

By making appropriate use of the parallel-translation device employed so successfully by Roger Ascham as tutor to Queen Elizabeth,⁷ and by John Amos Comenius in his famous *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*,⁸ it should even be possible to introduce brief excerpts from Latin literature as early as the tenth week of beginning Latin. The occasional reading of a Latin text, first with the aid of a closely matched English translation and then without it, can contribute substantially to vocabulary building and to notions of word order, while serving as an introduction in miniature to classical literature. Poems that lend themselves to choral recitation after the manner of a verse-speaking choir are especially suitable for use in first-semester classes. The memorization of choice lines or stanzas, selected by the students themselves, might in the long run contribute even more to the study of Latin than the memorization of a paradigm.

Discriminating use of parallel translations, with appropriate reconstruction exercises to facilitate the acquisition of vocabulary, has proved so successful in a recent Spanish series for junior and senior high schools as to warrant its use in classes that stress ready comprehension in reading.⁹ The device, if not overdone, is especially useful in enriching the first and second-year program with reading materials of literary as well as content value,

now often postponed to the advanced levels of languages instruction. Surely schools have a long way to go when they admittedly cannot compete with drugstores in the promotion of reading interests.

Although bringing more classical literature within the reading-range of the first two years should contribute substantially to the enrichment of the program in high school Latin, implementation of this proposal is likely to prove most successful in classes whose students represent a community's better educated families. In high schools whose students come from relatively less privileged home environments too restrictive an emphasis upon literature may prove impractical. In such cases, a taste for reading, even among the students with superior learning ability, is not likely to have developed to the point to which it can be taken for granted. The lines along which intelligence has been directed by social-cultural conditioning in the home and neighborhood are safer guides to the attitudes, interests, and appreciations that can be enlisted in the service of education than intelligence quotients *per se*. Group tests of mental ability are, after all, only an off-the-hip grading of how much the mind, considered as a sponge, has been able to absorb from the world of words.

Inasmuch as undeveloped reading interests among students of superior intelligence are not an uncommon fact, curriculum revision that presupposes the existence of what is still to be developed may not provide a universally satisfactory solution. For many schools a less restricted type of Latin program may be more appropriate. In such cases it may be preferable to think in terms of elementary and intermediate courses that place primary emphasis on those values of language study that pay immediate dividends while encouraging the development of a taste for literature as fast as the traffic will bear. Considering the progress that has already been made in this direction, it should not be inappropriate to offer under the heading of Latin a first-year course with the subtitle, "Our Classical Heritage."¹⁰ That progress in ability to use the language as a key to literature will

not be so rapid in this type of course as in one that can build upon previously developed reading interests is, perhaps, inevitable. As teachers of young people we must not grieve too much if some students graduate without looking or talking exactly like ourselves. To what extent a potential sacrifice in reading ability is to be regretted will depend upon the relative values of the gains made in other directions. To compensate for any possible loss, the reading of literature in translation, as well as of novels, stories, and plays dealing with life in Roman times, deserves encouragement as a means for whetting the appetite for good books and for creating a desire later to read Latin authors in the original. Underlying this conception of an alternate or parallel offering in high-school Latin, now already in operation in many places, is the realization that the immediate surrender values of instruction in the Classics are, unlike its purely preparatory values, the only ones that many young people have time to acquire with satisfaction to themselves before leaving school.

PLACING PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON THE "CONSUMER" VALUES AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE PURELY "PREPARATORY" VALUES OF LATIN INSTRUCTION. Although it is possible for content with a high surrender value¹¹ to be preparatory in the sense of laying a foundation in vocabulary, elementary reading ability, and interest for more advanced types of work, the reverse is seldom true. Purely preparatory assignments and exercises, that do not begin to pay dividends until the advanced levels in high school or college, often postpone the satisfactions obtainable from language study either beyond the point where good morale can be maintained among young people, or beyond the point where most Americans remain in school. While interest in the childish sense of whimsies and fancies is a very superficial concern of very superficial people, good morale is too fundamental to the success of any learning program to suffer neglect. Lack of it can weaken the entire position of a subject in American schools, just as good morale can fortify it

with satisfying accomplishments and increased enrolments.

Inasmuch as Latin has probably gone farther than the modern languages in giving attention to the consumer values of the field, the problem remains only for structuring these into a graduated series of inviting stepping stones to higher levels of achievement. In some cases this involves only making a more inviting display of goods that are already in the warehouse. Primary emphasis cannot be placed on consumer values, however, nor can these be structured into an educative sequence of units worthwhile in themselves, if such topics as "Latin in modern English," "Classical allusions in advertising and literature," "Rome in our world of books," "Latin as the mother of the Romance languages," "Rome in our laws and architecture," or "Lessons that we can learn from the rise and fall of the Roman empire," are treated as optional or supplementary in textbooks and courses of study. As interleaved topics they too often serve only as a kind of bustle of culture tacked on for effect. Incidental learning has an unfortunate habit of becoming accidental. In time it leads to grab-bag courses as jumbled as a dream, and as amazing in their contents as a woman's purse. The recent action of the University of Kentucky in permitting students to repeat their high-school Latin without loss of credit in college will, if widely adopted by other institutions of higher learning, remove the mental hazards¹² to curriculum revision that have at times prevailed where leadership has been too much in the hands of those who believe that high standards are best maintained in empty classrooms.¹³

Because the American secondary school was for decades required to coerce students into purely preparatory types of courses whose long deferred values the large majority rarely lived to see, the foreign languages have lost much of the support that they might otherwise enjoy. Strong language curricula cannot long be maintained without popular support among the parents and citizens who were our students yesterday. Even if it were true that only the best minds can profit from

the Classics, to develop only such minds would be to develop leaders without a following. To have great producers we must have great consumers too. The tragedy of our time is that the liberal arts and humanities have too often neglected the masses for the classes instead of creating a fertile field of public education, diversified enough in content and method to accommodate all, in which leadership is the outgrowth of a high level of common understandings, insights, and appreciations.

Past efforts of leaders in the liberal arts and humanities to duplicate in the new world a language curriculum rooted in the European concept of aristocracy have at times been so contrary to the American conception of public secondary education that the need for good public relations has become critical in many places. Realization of this fact should prompt all patrons of the humanities and liberal arts to place the promotion of public goodwill high on the agenda of their objectives. The world has lost confidence in intellectuals with no purpose beyond the worship of their own minds. Although satisfied generations of students will be our best salesmen in the long-run, this inescapable fact does not rule out efforts to secure results in the short-run. Neither does it require that teachers of Latin start calling everybody "darling." Among the immediate possibilities are the following:

•
DEVELOPING PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE RESOURCES OF THE CLASSICS. Making sure that Latin and Greek literature in translation, as well as effectively written books about Rome, are included in collateral reading lists for students of English at all levels, is a step in the right direction. Whatever stimulates an interest in the classical foundations of western civilization outside the Latin course is favorable to enrolment in classes that stress their language and literature. For the same reason, public-relations programs to which parents and the public are invited—pageants, dramatization of myths, or play-readings by students, movies depicting life in classical

times, and illustrated talks by competent outsiders—all deserve encouragement on school time. It is almost axiomatic that the size of the adult audience will nearly always be directly proportional to the number of sons and daughters who participate in the program, even if such participation involves only standing at the door with a home-made spear.¹⁴

Despite the fact that school-sponsored excursions abroad have so far been undertaken almost exclusively by teachers of the modern languages, candidates for a visit to the monuments of Roman greatness in Southern France, Spain, and Italy should not be difficult to find after a school-wide, community-centered public relations program has been launched. In 1949, a group of top-ranking Spanish students from the Mariposa Union High School, California, were afforded a vacation in Mexico through the generosity of a local business men's club in providing travel scholarships. Women's clubs, university men's clubs, alumni associations, literary societies, fraternal organizations, and even sponsors of give-away radio programs might well be invited to give comparable encouragement to students of Latin. Where the party numbers between ten and twelve students, the expenses of the teacher as chaperon are usually absorbed by the travel agency.

PARTICIPATING IN STATE AND REGIONAL CURRICULUM REVISION PROGRAMS. Although many excellent programs are constantly being developed in the ancient and modern languages, as the reports in professional journals repeatedly show, they are too often developed by teachers working unassisted, and sometimes completely alone. Inasmuch as news of their work is likely to be confined to a few colleagues or, at best, to readers of the somewhat specialized language magazines, the recognition and support that their work deserves are seldom as great as desired among administrators and Boards of Education. Perhaps it is in the nature of things that public funds for library books, audiovisual aids, classroom equipment, new textbooks, or con-

sulting services tend to be assigned first to those areas of the curriculum for which principals, curriculum directors, and superintendents have received legal authorization. Since there are seldom funds for everything, the highest priority is usually given to participants in curriculum development projects endorsed by official action of the school trustees. If we are seeking ways to secure a fair hearing and adequate support for the language arts in postwar education, let us not overlook opportunities to participate in curriculum revision programs, or to initiate them by petition.

Because teachers of the ancient and modern languages have too often been left to bleed in silence, or to shake "like a chilled lassie on a windy corner," the need for workshops in world literature and languages is acute in many places. Joint action on the part of state and regional language associations should in time persuade school officials to provide accredited workshops, either on school time or with special remuneration, comparable in scope to those commonly available to teachers of English and the social studies. Where held in an attractive environment, with adequate opportunities for rest and recreation and time for a free exchange of ideas with colleagues, such workshops can serve not only as curriculum builders, but also as morale builders as well. Changes of the type recommended by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South cannot easily be implemented without pre-planning. Neither can new-type offerings in World Literature, consumer courses in the Classics, or effective public relations programs be introduced successfully without giving forethought to essential facilities and materials. In matters affecting curriculum and instruction no professional group can afford to become just an amateur ensemble that plays entirely by ear.

Moreover, if world languages and cultures—ancient and modern—are to occupy their deserved place among the first violins in the educational orchestra, they must be present at all rehearsals, no matter how necessary and desirable their private practicing may be. The classical languages and their

literatures were for centuries the core curriculum of western civilization. There is no important central objective of modern education to which they cannot make a significant contribution today. It remains for us, however, to find ways of making this contribution in terms as suited to the present as former solutions were suited to the past. Zeal and ingenuity in this endeavor are measures of our stature as educators.

NOTES

¹ For a summary of statistics, see pages 503-505 in *Modern Languages for Modern Schools*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1942. The estimates in this article include such limited postwar data as are available.

² Harold C. Hand, "The World Our Pupils Face," *Science Education*, Vol. 31, pp. 55-60, March, 1947.

According to the National Commission on School District Reorganization, "in nearly a third of the states more than 40 percent of the children 14-17 years old are not enrolled in high school." See Department of Rural Education, *Your School District*, National Education Association of the United States, Washington, D. C., 1948, 286 pages, page 17.

³ *Ibid.*, *Your School District*, page 58.

⁴ Ruth Oxley, "Comparative Study of the Intelligence of Beginners in Senior High School Foreign Language," *School and Society*, Vol. 33, pages 695-696, May, 1931.

⁵ Paul B. Diederich, *The Frequency of Latin Words and Their Endings*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1939, 121 pages; pp. 37-43.

Committee on Educational Policies, "Toward Improvement of the High School Latin Curriculum," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 97-102, November, 1948.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Diederich, p. 24.

⁷ Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, Arber Edition, London, 1970, Book II, p. 194.

⁸ For facsimiles of pages, see Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1920, 684 pages; pp. 351-354.

⁹ For methodology, see Walter V. Kaulfers, *Modern Spanish Teaching*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1947, 99 pages, pp. 12-18.

¹⁰ L. Denis Peterkin, "The Classics in School and College," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Vol. 31, pp. 89-98, November, 1935.

Sherman P. Young, "The Classics in Translation," *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 8, pp. 221-224, 228, May, 1937.

¹¹ For excellent classroom materials, see the teaching aids published by the American Classical League and by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South—especially *The Latin You Speak Today* and *Roman Red-Letter Days*, both by Clyde Murley. The latter are available at cost at 629 Noyes Street, Evanston, Illinois.

¹² Thornton C. Blayne, "College Entrance Requirements," *School and Society*, Vol. 55, pp. 421-422, April 11, 1942.

¹³ For a penetrating evaluation, see W. M. Spackman, "The Menace of Curriculum Reform," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Vol. 44, No. 5, pp. 293-297, February, 1949.

¹⁴ For examples of public relations programs in action see the symposium, "Highlights of Latin Week, 1948," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 253-259, October, 1948; also the chapters by Sibyl Stonecipher, Sally Adas Robinson, and Rev. Brother John Joseph in *A New Concept of Human Relations*, Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, 1949, 179 pages, pp. 56-79.

—Editorial Comment

LATIN TEACHERS NEEDED

WE HEAR FROM the Placement Bureau of one of the large Midwest state universities that fifty calls for Latin teachers were received during the past year in that one state—and it was possible to fill only two. This is getting to be an old story; one that reveals a curious situation (to state it politely).

In this same state the latest break-down of enrolments reveals that Latin attracts more students than all other foreign languages combined. We have heard, too, that some administrators (in an unguarded moment) admit that they rather favor Latin over other foreign languages because it is steady—it does not suddenly become popular and then drop with equal suddenness.

As we suggested above, the curious situation is that counsellors on both the secondary and college level have been predicting—more wishfully than truthfully, we fear—the imminent demise of Latin for a number of years, with results that are now apparent. If the predicted demise does take place, a little behind schedule, it may well be due to the lack of teachers rather than to the lack of demand for the subject itself; in other words, counselled out of existence.

One of the major responsibilities of individuals and groups working for the welfare of Latin teaching is to see that the real facts are somehow made known to administrators and counselling services.

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

"EA QUAE AD EFFEMINANDOS ANIMOS PERTINENT"

IN De B.G. I, 1, Caesar describes the Belgians as the bravest of the Gallic peoples in part because they were the most geographically remote from the "culture and refinement" of the Province and because merchants seldom visited them to bring in *ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent*. It would seem, in Caesar's opinion, that the rest of Gaul had already suffered from this demoralizing proximity and economic penetration.

It is interesting to conjecture as to what Caesar means by "those things which tend to weaken the character," things which are introduced into an "inferior" culture through the efforts of merchants. Clearly Caesar has reference to the importation of wine. In De B.G. II, 15 and again in IV, 2, he mentions Gallic bans on the importation of wine or any other thing which would seem to weaken the *virtutem*. In modern times, a similar action was taken by the government of the United States: the sale of alcohol to the Indians was prohibited by law. There can be little doubt that the combination of the "superior" civilization's firearms and firewater contributed heavily to the cultural disintegration of the American Indian. During World War II, the Nazis are said to have encouraged the increased use of wine and whisky by the conquered peoples, in the belief that it would tend to break down nationalistic feeling and make collaboration more attractive. Wine, then, is one of Caesar's *ea*.

The past history of uneven cultural contacts attests also the importance of the introduction of new diseases. Respiratory diseases are said to have been virtually unknown among the Eskimos until they were brought in by the white man. Writing of the present-day Dobu of New Guinea, Ruth Benedict mentions the "introduced diseases, tuberculosis, measles, influenza, and dysentery . . .

known and fatal in Dobu for fifty years . . ."; the natives have no charms against these diseases. "New" diseases often prove particularly virulent, since unexposed peoples have had no opportunity to develop natural resistance to them. It seems entirely likely that Roman traders, handling merchandise from all over the eastern world, may have introduced a tragic variety of new and exotic diseases into Gaul.

From the East also, spices were imported into Rome in a bewildering variety, and the stimulating effect of these flavorings was undoubtedly felt on the Gallic palate. Easy to carry and traded in small quantities, spices must have been an important ware in the pack of the Roman peddler.

But aside from wine and spices, what are the luxury items which were imported into Gaul by the merchants and which tended to weaken the national character? In the majority of the contemporary industrial fields, the Gauls were already proficient. They had long been in direct contact with the culture of Greece: "For centuries, Greece had exercised its civilizing influence in Gaul . . . As early as the fourth century, they had been regarded as phil-Hellenes . . ." Tenney Frank observes.³ "The great commercial Greek colony, Marseilles . . . had accustomed the peoples (of Gaul) to foreign ways and wares." Greek influence in the shapes and decoration of Gallic pottery can be clearly demonstrated in extant vases. Caesar's *mercatores* were by no means pioneers; they merely followed the trade routes established earlier by Greek traders, who must certainly have laid the groundwork for the disintegration of the Gallic national culture. It is even possible that Caesar is here commenting indirectly upon the weakening impact of the "superior" Greek culture upon the once vigorous native Roman civilization.

What were the uniquely Roman contributions to the current cultural situation in Gaul? Frank lists specific imports:⁴ "Marseilles, then (before the Roman conquest) an independent Greek city, controlled the trade on the Rhone, brought down metals, hides, rough wool, salt meat, cheese, slaves and amber from the north in return for Italian iron, bronze, earthen ware and the fine handiwork of the east." Hubert further observes:⁵ "The stranger from the Mediterranean always had a special charm for them (the Gauls). The civilization of La Tène III, which was contemporaneous with the conquest, reveals a growing influence of the arts and industries of the south. Bronze statuettes appear, enamel work is developed, the technique of pottery is changed; Celtic characteristics disappear from the decoration of vases and jewel work."

The rapid expansion of industries of all kinds, plus the introduction of the factory system of mass production, the factories manned by local labor, argues for a long familiarity on the part of the Gauls with the articles manufactured. According to Toutain,⁶ Gallic industrial development in the early Empire became prodigious. Stone buildings replaced the daub-and-wattle huts. Roman cement was introduced. With the improvement in housing went a corresponding improvement in furniture; beds, seats, tables, cupboards, chests, candlesticks and lampstands were produced. The bronze workers made quantities of fibulae and ornaments of all kinds, statuettes, vases, and handles and fittings for furniture and chests. The iron workers made ploughs, harrows, scythes, knives, axes, pruning-knives, hammers, chisels, pincers, saws, nails, wrenches, files, rules, compasses and anvils, as well as arms of all types. The locksmith provided fastenings, bolts staples, padlocks and keys. Even before the Roman conquest, the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul produced clothings, blankets, carpets, and stuffs of all kinds in great quantities. The chief centers of the ceramic industry were in Italy and Gaul.

A comparison of this list with a list of the portable native Gallic articles uncovered in the digs dated prior to the Roman conquest

indicates conclusively that the Romans introduced little that was not already familiar in the way of manufactured articles. Gallic pottery has a solid developmental history from the beginnings of the Hallstatt Period. The Gauls were superb metal workers; swords, spear-points, shields, breastplates, brooches, torques, bracelets, belt buckles, earrings, rings, buttons, mirrors, combs and amulets have been recovered in the excavations. The Gallic skill in the inlaying of coral and in the enamel technique which replaced it when coral became scarce should be noted. All in all, it would appear that the Gauls were well supplied with native luxury items before the appearance of the Roman merchants.

In addition to the wine, spices and diseases, the "growing influence of the arts of industries of the south"⁷ seems the most demonstrable interpretation of Caesar's *ea*. This then was the lasting contribution of Roman civilization to Gallic disintegration: new ways of doing the old things, mass production and mass distribution, leading to new values, new desires, new moral concepts; these are the damaging inter-cultural impacts. Ruth Benedict has Ramon, an old chief of the Digger Indians in California, state the case for the succumbing culture: "In those days his people had eaten of 'the health of the desert' . . . and knew nothing of the insides of tin cans and the things for sale at butcher shops. It was such innovations that had degraded them in these latter days."⁸

The wine and the ideas of the Romans in Gaul, the glass beads and red calico bolts of the traders in Africa, the tin cans and the butcher shops of the merchants in the land of the Digger Indians, the cigarettes, chocolate bars and chewing gum of the World War II soldiers wherever they went, all have a common denominator: *ad effeminandos animos pertinent*.

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NOTES

¹ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937) 150.

² Henri Hubert, *The Greatness and Decline of the Celts* (London, Kegan Paul etc. 1934) 140.

A FIGHT IN THE DESERT JUVENAL XV AND A MODERN PARALLEL

IN HIS FIFTEENTH satire, Juvenal describes a savage fight between the inhabitants of two neighbouring Egyptian towns. It was the result of an old feud, stimulated partly by religious conflicts—for one of the towns worshipped Set the crocodile-god, while the citizens of the other, who adored the mild goddess Hathor, enjoyed hunting and killing crocodiles; and partly also by the normal hatred felt by close neighbours for each other's differences. Both towns have been identified. The crocodile-worshippers lived in Ombi, and the Hathor-worshippers in Tentyra.¹

Which began the fight we are not told, but it was a carefully planned operation. One of the two towns was having a festival, with what Juvenal contemptuously describes as half-civilized orgies that sometimes lasted for a week on end. If he did not detest all the Egyptians so bitterly, he might give us further details; but (like some moderns who have lived for a time in the Middle East) he wishes to imply that all these wogs are the same to him, and that it does not really matter which group was the aggressor. Yet it is possible to conjecture that it was more probably the cruel crocodile-worshippers who attacked to avenge the slaughter of their deity, and the luxurious Tentyrites who were holding holiday.

The battle began with insults, then went on to fist-fighting, then to stone-throwing. One side next brought up reinforcements armed with swords and arrows. At this, the Tentyrites ran away: so it is obvious that the weapons were produced by the men of Ombi, and more probable still that they had prepared the whole attack.

During the rout, one of the Tentyrites fell down and was captured. He was torn to pieces by the victors, and eaten. Characteristically, Juvenal adds that they could not wait to cook him, and that they enjoyed the cannibal meal so much that the last-comers picked the blood from the ground and licked it off their fingers. No doubt they felt they were true sons of the crocodile.

Juvenal himself felt that this might be incredible, and mentioned other cases of cannibalism. These, however, had been induced by extreme starvation—which was a well-known theme for the declamations of the rhetoricians.² Yet during Juvenal's own lifetime there were several much closer parallels in the history of Egypt and North Africa: Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 72, describes a similar religious feud, and Dio (68.32 and 71.4) relates even worse atrocities which occurred during rebellions. Odd that Juvenal does not cite them.

There is also a striking parallel from modern history, which as far as we know lacks only the final outrage. In Tunisia, Norman Douglas met an engineer, who told him the following story about a fight at the phosphate mines of Metlaoui.³ Note how closely its various stages correspond to those of Juvenal's narrative.

Those barren slopes where the mines lie, and where the different races now work together in apparent amity, were once the scene of a sanguinary primitive battle. There is a steep gully at one point, a dry torrent; the Khabyles lived on one side of it, the Tripolitans on the other, and between these two races there occurred, on a starlit night in May, 1905, an affray of unearthly ferocity.

inter finitimos uetus atque antiqua simulas
(J. 15.33).

The Khabyles, prudent folk, many of whom had served in the French Army, had long been laying in a store of warlike provisions; their secret was well kept, although it was observed that piles of stones were being collected round their huts, and that a goodly quantity of dynamite and

¹ Tenney Frank, *Economic History of Rome* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1927) 367.

² *Ibid.*, 312.

³ Henri Hubert, *loc. cit.* (Italics mine.)

⁴ Jules Toutain, *The Economic Life in the Ancient World* (London, Kegan Paul, etc. 1930) 290 f.

⁵ Henri Hubert, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Ruth Benedict, *op. cit.*, 21.

petroleum was missing from the stores; some of them possessed guns and revolvers, the rest were armed with knives, daggers, and savage mining gear.

*pars altera promere ferrum
audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis*
(J.15.73-4).

They chose a Sunday for the attack, well knowing that the Tripolitans, who are good-natured simpletons, would be least prepared to resist them on that day, and half of them in a state of jollification.

*sed tempore festo
alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis
uisa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia cenae
sentirent . . .
adde quod et facilis uictoria de madidis et
blaeis atque mero titubantibus*

(J.15.38-42, 47-8).

And they were so sagacious, that they actually induced a few drunken Tripolitans to insult them, before beginning the conflict. This, they knew, would be counted in their favour afterwards.

*iurgia prima sonare
incipiunt animis ardentibus, haec tuba rixae.*
(J.15.51-2)

Hardly was the night come before they advanced in battle array—the fighting contingent in front; behind them the boys and older men, who kept them supplied with stones and weapons. A well-nourished volley of missiles greeted the Tripolitans, some of whom rushed to the fray, while others took refuge in their huts or with the Moroccans who lived in their own village near at hand. It was now quite dark, but at close quarters the stones began to take effect . . .

*saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
tela*
(J.15.63-5).

. . . and hardly was a man down, before five or six Khabyles ran out of the ranks, to finish him off with their knives; others, meanwhile, went to the locked huts and fired them, or burst them open with dynamite.

The explosions and lights began to attract attention in Metlaoui; the whole sky was aflame; there were mysterious bursts of sound, too, and a chorus of wild howls. Something was evidently wrong, up there.

A party of Europeans, accompanied by a small force of local police, went up to the mines to

investigate. They found themselves powerless; "keep yourselves out of danger," they were told, "and let us settle our own affairs." The carnage was in full swing; it was hell let loose. Not content with killing, they mutilated each other's corpses, bit off noses, gouged out eyes, and thrust stones in the mouths of the dead . . .

*paucae sine uolnere malae,
uix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus
integer. aspiceres iam cuncta per agmina uoltus
dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis
ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos*
(J.15.54-8).

. . . burnt and hacked and slashed each other till sunrise; no element of bestiality was lacking. The wounded crawled away to caves, or were carried to nomad camps. The number of the dead was never ascertained; Dufresnoy says "about a hundred," which is probably below the mark, as an eye-witness saw three railway trucks loaded with the slain. To this day they find mouldering human remains, relics of that battle, hidden away in crevices of the rocks.

Although, once roused, the Tripolitans fought like demons, they were worsted; the others were too numerous. They had a brief moment of revenge, however; for during their retreat, on Monday morning, they encountered two young Khabye boys who had been on absence and were now returning to work at the mines, blissfully ignorant of what was going on. These unfortunate lads were torn to shreds.

*praecipitans capiturque. ast illum in plurima
sectum
frusta et particulas . . .*
(J.15.78-9)

The parallelism of this story to Juvenal 15 is so close that, when we read that "it was not reported in the local newspapers," we might be inclined to think that either Douglas or his informant had made it up as an elaborate hoax. It would be quite a typical French mystification to relate, as a true contemporary incident, something which had happened 1800 years before. But the same riot is mentioned in a description of the region by a serious ethnologist, Pierre Bodereau, who writes:

A la suite de rixes sanglantes et mortelles qui eurent lieu à Metlaoui, entre les ouvriers de la compagnie des phosphates, en 1907, le gouvernement tunisien songea à rétablir une garnison à Gafsa.⁴

The facts as narrated by Juvenal have therefore additional probability, because they apparently spring from the folkways of North Africa, which are slow to change and which have altered little since his time. It is a pity that he should for so long have been suspected both of ignorance and of rhetorical exaggeration in telling this story about the country he detested, whereas he was evidently both moderate and accurate.

GILBERT HIGHET

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NOTES

¹ These towns were originally thought to be many miles apart, but the true site of Ombi has now been found, near the ruins of Tentyra; a wall runs between them, evidently dating back to the feud. See P. H.

Boussac, "L'exil de Juvénal et l'Ombos de la XVe satire" (RPh 41 (1917) 169-184), and G. Highet, "The life of Juvenal" (TAPhA 68 (1937) 487). Aelian, *De natura animalium* 10.21, gives further details on the crocodile-cult of the Ombites, and records reasons for the loathing of crocodiles felt by their neighbours.

² See the 12th of the *Magnae declamationes* attributed to Quintilian. However, this is all about a city stricken by famine, which is not the same as Juvenal's atrocity: J. de Decker therefore exaggerates in saying "N'oublions pas que le sujet même de la XVe satire (l'anthropophagie) est du domaine de la rhétorique pure" (*Juvenalis declamans*, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres 41, Ghent 1913, p. 53).

³ Norman Douglas, *Fountains in the Sand* (London, Secker, 1912).

⁴ P. Bodereau, *La Capsa ancienne: la Gafsa moderne* (Challamel, Paris, 1907), 220 n. 3. The incident is not mentioned in C. A. Julien's *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (Payot, Paris, 1931). The slight discrepancy in dates between Douglas and Bodereau is scarcely important.

Current Events

SYMPOSIUM FOR MARY HAMILTON SWINDLER

LAST APRIL NINTH, Bryn Mawr College played host to a distinguished group of guests at a symposium in honor of retiring Professor Mary Hamilton Swindler. Students of classical archaeology have known Miss Swindler well ever since Bryn Mawr College, in 1912, published her dissertation on *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Rituals of Apollo*. Her book on *Ancient Painting* has, through the years, proved indispensable to scholars and undergraduates alike. In 1940 her native Alma Mater, Indiana University, conferred an honorary degree upon her. Her name is also closely linked with the work of the Archaeological Institute of America. The volumes of the *American Journal of Archaeology* from 1932 until 1946, when she was the *Journal's* Editor-in-chief, bear the imprint of her energy, experience, and scholarly sense of standards. Where such gifts are combined, the signs are still promising for the future.

The symposium in the dignified old college "Deanery" was an impressive performance. It lasted from morning to late afternoon, with a social hour in between while lunch was served. To the four speakers of the day, a

unified theme had been given: "Athens before Pericles."

Professor Katharine McBride, who presided over the morning session, first addressed the guest of honor. Then Miss Gisela M. A. Richter, drawing on her wide experience as a Curator of Greek and Roman Antiquities at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, discussed "Pheidias and the Formation of the Attic Sculptural Style." Professor Rhys Carpenter followed with observations regarding "Tradition and Invention in Attic Reliefs." It soon became apparent that this concentrated approach to one limited period, Attic Art after the Persian Wars, was likely to yield interesting results. These critical decades were characterized by telling symptoms at Athens. A noticeable inequality can be determined between various types of artistic production. Poetry, which flourished, testified to the presence of intense artistic and intellectual interests. The Attic vase painters worked with undiminished zeal—but a great deal of this output was for exportation. And as Mr. Carpenter pointed out, certain types of private art practiced during



Wilbur Boone

KATHARINE HAMILTON MCBRIDE (LEFT), MARY HAMILTON SWINDLER

the archaic period were not revived at all, like the famous Korae and "Apollines." Others, like grave reliefs and votive reliefs were conspicuously rare after the Persian invasion, to become more numerous again only after the middle of the century when their traditional types are at first resumed, then gradually modernized.

Rhys Carpenter, with accustomed urbanity and wit, later presided during the afternoon session. Professor William Bell Dinsmoor was the first speaker. His account of "The Dawn of Periclean Architecture" shed light on one of the darkest chapters of the history of Attic art. In architecture, also, a comparative reluctance towards major enterprises except those of immediate, practical urgency, becomes noticeable after the Persian destruction. While the new temple of Zeus went up at Olympia, no building on a similar scale was under construction at Athens; and

one of Pheidias' most trusted collaborators, Iktinos, a decade later earned his fame and experience abroad at Phigalia. In examining, against this background, the early post-Persian, Attic structures at Athens and other places, Mr. Dinsmoor's lecture set a rare example of original history-writing. It whetted the appetite for the book of which, it is hoped, this lecture will form one chapter.

The drama of history, subtly noticeable in the architectural remains, became outspoken in literature. Professor John Huston Finley, Jr., who had come from Harvard, spoke of "Pindar and Aeschylus" as two prototypes of contrasting views. What moved Pindar most, he suggested, is the aristocratic view of life with its strong individualism, tempered by *aidōs*—a self-imposed discipline of manners—as well as by political and religious insight. At the same time Aeschylus expressed a new, essentially democratic concept of state and

society, in his tragic view of justice as a balance between the counteracting stresses of Necessity. In the practical issues of their time, the contrast from which these two views sprang proved insurmountable; yet seen at a distance, how much have the two poets in common, who incorporated this contrast. This was the last lecture of the day, and a fine example of literary history, of a type too rarely practiced in the Classics.

More than three hundred guests accepted the invitation, representing many different universities and museums of the eastern and midwestern states. The Bryn Mawr Deanery was crowded. Decidedly, the day was a success, and those attending felt that they were nobly entertained.

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"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

(Continued from page 83)

Jesuits used it as a medium of education in Japan and China, and in Mexico it was once proposed as the national language. The French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret answered the charge that Latin was a dead language by asserting that the vernacular tongues died every day, while Latin had gained immortality. The other clipping tells of an international congress of religious instruction to be held in Rome in October, 1950, with Latin announced as the official language into which summaries of the texts will be translated from the seven supplementary languages to be used.

THE FLAVOR of classical antiquity appeals to the popular taste and shows up in things as American as advertising and town names in New York. Mr. James A. Weeks of the Franklin, N. J., high school, sent us the story, from the New York TRIBUNE, June 26, of how a whole flock of townships received the names of famous Greeks and Romans after the name Troy was adopted by the villagers of Vanderheyden's Ferry in 1789. The military tract commissioners who disposed of lands purchased from the Iroquois for veterans of the Revolutionary War appear to have been influenced by the classical names of Troy and Seneca Lake, and they started naming townships for ancient heroes: Lysander, Hannibal, Cato, Camil-

lus, Manlius, Marcellus, Scipio, etc., etc. Miss Maude E. Bryan of Reading, Mich., sent us an advertisement from the WORLD-TELEGRAM of Bloomington, Ind., April 17, supporting the churches of the community. A large photograph of three columns and entablature, labeled "crumbling ruins," is identified as the temple of Jupiter at Baalbec, and the point is made that "religion has always inspired the best that was in man."

IN CONNECTION with our perennially recurring subject of Latin as an international language, two items of interest have been called to our attention by Professor Harry L. Levy of Hunter College. They will serve to show how Latin may be both lucid and elucidating across language boundaries. In commenting on the Pope's decree excommunicating Communists, a writer in the New YORKER (August 13) found the language "startlingly brisk" and quoted, without translating, "Communismus enim est materialisticus et anti-Christianus." The column "Topics of the Times" from the New York TIMES of August 14 quoted the opening lines of the Oath of Strasbourg (842 A.D.) as recited by Louis the German, in the Romance tongue for the benefit of the soldiers of Charles the Bald: "Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai io cist meon fradre Karlo, etc., etc." Not exactly *brisk*, perhaps, but intelligible to anyone who knows Latin. The occasion for the quotation was a discussion of Strasbourg's peculiar role as a border town from ancient times to the present. Because of its position on the main road from Gaul to Germany, the Romans called it Strataburgum, a name recalling the Latin etymology of "street."

MUSIC ALSO has some reputation as an international language, and this character of the art is reflected in the advice given by singer Nelson Eddy. In an interview for the Benson High (Omaha, Nebraska) NEWS of April 22, he said to students who aspire to become singers: "Eventually you will need to know some foreign languages. Get what you can right now. You won't be singing much in Latin, except masses and oratorios, but Latin is a good thing to have under your belt as a basis for the necessary working languages. The training it gives you makes learning the others easier." (Thanks to Mrs. Sadie Schaffnit of Benson High School.)

WEEK
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SEVERAL SPECTACULAR archaeological items appeared in the news during August. Probably the most significant, certainly the most interesting to Classicists, was the unofficial report that Vatican archaeologists have discovered the bones of the Apostle Peter beneath the pavement of St. Peter's Basilica. The *NEW YORK TIMES* of August 22 carried a detailed article by its Rome correspondent, Camille M. Cianfarra, giving the traditional history of the saint's burial place and the evidence leading to the belief that it has been found and identified. Ground plans and a cross section show the relationship of ancient structures and the present Basilica, and pinpoint the crypt, which is said to have revealed coins dating from the first century and inscriptions such as "Ave Petre." It is stated that the evidence will be reviewed by a neutral committee of recognized archaeologists before the Pope will make an official announcement.

Another quest of religious significance was the search for remains of Noah's Ark on Mt. Ararat in Turkey, where various reports have claimed that an object fitting the description has been uncovered by the thawing of usually deep snows. A group of five Americans undertook the expedition, complicated by Russian charges that they were spying across the nearby Turkish-Russian border. As the story ran in the *ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH* (August 29), the only documentation available was taken from the book of Genesis.

A University of California expedition led by Wendell Phillips was reported in the *POST-DISPATCH* of August 26 to have discovered in Arabia the ancient city of Timna described by Pliny as the "City of Forty Temples." Walls and ruined temples were said to be visible above the sand.

THE COLOSSAL iron statue of Vulcan on Red Mountain overlooking Birmingham, Alabama, speaks through the column "From Where I Stand" in the *BIRMINGHAM NEWS* of August 23. In a mythological reverie he runs through the whole story of the unhappy cripple among the Olympians, his marriage to Venus, and his monstrous progeny. The clipping was sent us by D. M. Key of Birmingham.

WEEK AFTER week, *TIME* offers evidence of the contemporary pertinence of classical antiquity in the news.

August 8. On the *Festa de Nojantri* (The Feast of Us Others) celebrated by Rome's *Trasteverini*: "Trastevere has been the tenderloin of Rome ever since the Romans first settled across the Tiber. It achieved its earliest fame by supplying Rome's toughest gladiators and most durable prostitutes."

August 15. An ancient equivalent of K-rations described by Philo of Byzantium, compounded of squill, sesame, opium, and honey. It was discussed, with approval, by Dr. Pan S. Codellas in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*.

September 5. A photograph showing Queen Frederika and Princess Sophia of Greece in a dance with costumed villagers of Lioepesi in Attica, opening the ancient "Festival of the Grapes"—"a pale reflection of the riotous Bacchanalia which marked the grape harvest in the days of Euripides."

September 12. Footnote to the importation of American oysters into British oyster beds: "There was a time when Britain was in the exporting end of the oyster trade. Julius Caesar took English oysters with him back to Rome, where Historian Gaius Sallust sourly commented: 'The poor Britains, there is some good in them after all; they produce an oyster.'"

Ibid. Account of the ancient Roman's addiction to public baths, accompanying a report on the successful opera season in the Baths of Caracalla, with the photograph in which the stage, one of the world's largest, looks tiny framed between two huge brickwork towers remaining from the walls of the calidarium.

Ibid. Reference to a promotion letter of British European Airways urging Roman Catholic priests to fly to Rome during the Holy Year of 1950. Written in Latin, it offered to deliver them in seven hours for only "LIII libras."

ROMAN CUSTOMS and costumes furnish amusement for students in Rome, Italy, and Wenatchee, Washington. Pictures clipped from a number of newspapers showed Roman university students clowning in ancient military dress, with the Coliseum in the background. Strangely out of place appeared such articles as cigarettes and wristwatches. And in the *NATIONAL EDUCATION JOURNAL* for May appeared a picture of an ancient Roman wedding as enacted by the Junior Classical League, with an article contributed by Miss Estella Kyne of the Wenatchee High School. Miss Maude E. Bryan of Bloomington, Ind., called this last item to our attention.

W. C. S.

BOOK REVIEWS

CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

THOMSON, J. A. K., *The Classical Background of English Literature*: New York, The Macmillan Co. (1948). Pp. 272. \$3.50.

THIS BOOK is designed "to help students of English literature who are not themselves classical scholars to form a coherent impression of the influence exerted by the ancient literatures upon their own." In the first part of the book, Mr. Thomson discusses the characteristics, both general and particular, of classical literature, which he defines as "whatever has survived in Greek and Latin from Homer to the beginning of the Middle Ages." However, in giving its general characteristics he draws his illustrations only from Greek literature before the Alexandrian period, considering the Romans as primarily inheritors and transmitters of the Greek literary traditions to western Europe. He notes as especially characteristic the pervading intellectual element, the feeling for proportion and respect for form and tradition, the ability to see both sides, and the almost exclusive concern with the human.

In his discussion of the particular characteristics of classical literature, Mr. Thomson takes up one by one the various types of poetry and prose and traces each from its Greek origin through Latin literature. In epic, for instance, he shows the development from Homer through Apollonius, Virgil, and the late Latin epics with occasional references to Milton and such modern critics as Arnold and Coleridge. He makes it clear that he is not attempting to give a balanced survey of either prose or poetry but merely to touch on "those influences which have been most potent in their effect on English literature." This means that Theocritus naturally receives more attention than Sophocles, and Ovid than Propertius. There is, I think, considerable value in this manner of approach and, while there may be some difference of opinion as to

certain details, in general he succeeds in bringing out the salient features of the authors discussed and in showing concisely and clearly the way in which a literary type developed.

In the second half of the book the actual influence of this classical literature upon English literature is traced. This part of the book, it seems to me, is of special value to classical students who are often unfamiliar with the vicissitudes which the knowledge of classical literature has undergone and the extent and manner of the influence of this literature upon their own. In the chapter on the mediaeval period, Mr. Thomson stresses the influence of such writers as Dares and Dictys. He emphasizes the fact that knowledge of classical literature in this period was confined to Latin literature and that to a certain extent it came to England indirectly through French sources. He points out that the interest of the Middle Ages in the Classics was less aesthetic than utilitarian, since the attraction lay chiefly in the information conveyed or the possibility of drawing a moral. He shows how the first real knowledge of Greek comes with the Renaissance and, together with it, a new appreciation of the beauty of classic authors.

He calls the eighteenth century a Latin century which "whole-heartedly accepted the classical tradition so far as it understood it." He concludes, "The eighteenth century did not know as much about the Greeks or even about the Romans as we do, but classical literature appealed more directly to it." In the nineteenth century, on the contrary, "in general Greek literature was preferred to Latin as more original and spontaneous in its inspiration." Yet he thinks that although the higher education of the nineteenth century was strongly classical, "nevertheless the classics had nothing like the same influence on

literature in the nineteenth century as they had in the seventeenth and eighteenth."

In discussing the twentieth century he concludes, "The trend of contemporary literature is not classical; it is perhaps even anti-classical." Yet he recognizes that this turning away from the Classics does not involve much, if any, loss of interest in them as is shown from the number of books about Greece and Rome and the number of translations being written and published. It seems to me that this last chapter is the least satisfactory and that he has not been so wise in choosing examples to illustrate his points as he is in the earlier chapters. He does not mention, for instance, H. D. MacNeice, or Robinson Jeffers, and in speaking of translations he cites nothing later than Gilbert Murray and T. E. Lawrence. But, it must be acknowledged, there would naturally be more disagreement as to the authors to be included in this than in an earlier period.

I have noticed only one misprint, corripit, on page 53. The book has a good index but no notes or bibliography. Mr. Thomson is wise, I think, in not encumbering with notes

the pages of a book intended for the general reader, but since he does include one reference to Horace's *Odes*, it would have been helpful if he had also included two or three references to passages in Greek literature not easily identified. Since the treatment of English writers is necessarily brief and incomplete in a book of this size, readers who wish to pursue the subject further would have been helped by a bibliography or, in lieu of that, at least a reference to some source in which a bibliography can be found.

Although this book is not intended to be a scholarly production, it is the kind of book that only a scholar who has devoted his life to a study of literature, both ancient and modern, could have produced. It fills a real need and can be heartily recommended both to students of English literature who are not familiar with classical literature and to classical students who may be equally unfamiliar with the varying fortune of classical literature in the mediaeval and classical periods.

HELEN H. LAW

Wellesley College

ATHENIAN IN CRETE

ANDERSON, FLORENCE BENNETT, *The Black Sail*: New York, Crown Publishers (1948). Pp. 318. \$3.00.

THIS RETELLING of the Labyrinth story proves to be an exciting "historical" novel. It opens with a note of mystery and romance surrounding the birth of Nothus, who suddenly appears at the court of Aigeus in Athens. From the first revelation that he is the son of Aigeus he becomes a marked man, the living obstacle to the ambitions of his relatives and of the foreign consort of his father.

The author's ingenious handling of names and places shows skill and imagination. She has Akté called "Jutland," and its inhabitants the Kranoi, "Stonies." The Pallantidai are the "Shakespear clan," and Pallas is "Brandish." The palace at Knossos is the "Palace of Know," while the Daktyloi are the "Fingers," the Phoenicians the "Palm-People," and the

Pygmies the "Fist-Men." All of these peoples and places are described in furthering the plot that eventually takes Nothos and his companions to the palace at Knossos after the selection of the youths and maidens by lot.

Mrs. Anderson weaves into the story the episode of the signet ring and the golden crown of Amphitrite, Queen of the Deep, a skillful description of Knossos, enriched by the finds of Sir Arthur Evans and other excavators, an account of the training given to the young men and women (the rare combination of exercises used to harden the muscles of football players and ballet dancers with those used to produce the agility, nimbleness, and grace of modern tumblers and trapeze artists), the various preliminary trials to select perfect specimens of young men and women to fight the bull. The final challenge of the sacred bull by Nothos with the cry, "I challenge!

One for all!" leads to a word picture which presents the finesse of a modern bull fight plus the prowess of strength of any rodeo bull-dogging minus its crudity. The victory of Nothos with its ensuing religious rites, his marriage to Ariadne, and the weaving of the symbolic tapestry blend into the novel the traditional episodes of mythology. The initiation into the Blessed Mysteries, the serpent handling, and the ritual flogging are so realistically told that the researches of Nils-son, Farnall, and Glotz seem to come to life.

The latter part of the book follows the trials and mishaps of the conquering hero. Nothos is imprisoned in an underground dungeon, then saved by a series of earthquakes, fire in their wake, and rainbow-colored threads from Ariadne's shuttles. Then comes the attack upon the city by Atreus, who is aided by Nothos and the men he had freed from the dungeons. Scenes of slaughter, escape, mutiny, vows, infidelity, and religious

expiation accompany the departure for Athens. In the end mad jealousy causes Nothos to forget to raise the white sail, and his homecoming is one of mourning rather than rejoicing. Too late he remembers his broken promise to his father, who has killed himself in grief at sight of the black sail. He, however, is still regarded and greeted as "Theseus! Theseus! Stabilisher!" And thus he fulfills his destiny by unifying Attica, as the author seems to have had in mind from the beginning.

This book could be read by the more advanced high school students, particularly those enrolled in courses in art and mythology. It is, however, excellent reading for college students, not only those in Classics but also those in history and English; also for teachers, and in fact for anyone who enjoys a good novel.

BILLIE MARIE KOONS

Washington University

EURIPIDES' BACCHAE

WINNINGTON-INGRAM, R. P., *Euripides and Dionysus: an Interpretation of the Bacchae*: Cambridge at the University Press (1948). Pp. viii + 190. \$3.50.

WINNINGTON-INGRAM, although he does not say so in his book, would doubtless hold that Socrates was unduly harsh in his criticism of the tragedians and other poets when he remarked of them . . . *ὅτι οὐ σοφία ποιοῖεν ἀ ποιοῖεν*, . . . (Plato, *Apology* 22b); for the author gives Euripides credit for a considerable amount of *σοφία*. In fact, his chief purpose in his study of the *Bacchae* is to attempt to answer the question: "What is the wisdom of Euripides in this matter?" (p. 162). This is, he points out, a legitimate question on more than one ground. "Euripides wrote for an age preoccupied with the idea of *sophia*; for over a generation sophists had been claiming to teach it in every department of life, and we may believe that the word *σοφός*, 'wise' or 'clever,' was as constantly upon the lips of intelligent Athenians as it is on those of

Euripidean characters" (p. 167). As the member of the audience heard various characters in the *Bacchae* laying claim to wisdom, it was only natural for them to ask what Euripides himself considered *sophron*, and it is, therefore, logical for the modern student of Euripides to pose the same question.

To arrive at an answer to this question, Winnington-Ingram presents a detailed analysis of the play, scene by scene, accompanied by a running commentary which devotes special attention to disputed passages. The author's own very readable translations of several passages are woven into the commentary. His observations on Euripides' selection of words are particularly interesting, and have an important bearing on the conclusions to which he comes.

The writer's analysis leads him to reject the view so often taken, that Euripides in his later years repented of his earlier skepticism and, to make amends, presented in the *Bacchae* a picture of skepticism cruelly pun-

ished. He also finds it difficult to believe that, as some have assumed, the *Bacchae* is an expression of a longing felt by Euripides himself for the freedom from conventional restraint enjoyed by the Bacchanals. On the contrary, he feels that the play is, in some measure at least, directed against Dionysus and his cult. It was not, however, designed specifically to warn the Athenians against the dangers inherent in Dionysiac worship as such. The appearance of the cults of Cybele, Bendis, and Sabazius in Athens in the latter half of the fifth century had, to be sure, aroused considerable public interest in orgiastic worship, and may have been partly responsible for Euripides' decision to write the *Bacchae*. The mild form of Dionysiac worship current in Athens at the time, however, certainly did not constitute enough of a social problem to impel Euripides to deal with his subject as he did. The author's conclusion is that Euripides is actually pointing not merely to the dangers involved in the excesses of orgiastic worship, but rather to the risks entailed in all forms of uncontrolled emotion, and is indicating that the only antidote is insight. Euripides had seen his fellow countrymen suffer in a war in which many of their actions had been dictated by emotion. Much of this suffering could have been avoided had they learned to control their emotions through the use of reason and insight. Doubtless the future would be brighter if they could only learn the worth of understanding and comprehension. This was the wisdom of Euripides.

The author reaches this conclusion largely as a result of a study of the motifs running through the play. The most important one of these is that of "manifestation" or "epiphany," as indicated by the great number of forms of the root $\phi\alpha\upsilon$ - used throughout the

work. Frequent use of forms of the roots $\delta\phi$ - and $\delta\pi$ - point to "vision" or "sight" as another motif, and a third, "understanding," is suggested by numerous instances of forms of the root $\mu\alpha\theta$ -. In the play important matters are manifested to the characters, they see, or rather mis-see, and suffer disaster because of their failure to understand. Dionysus becomes manifest to Pentheus, and the latter has an opportunity to behold the workings of the Dionysiac cult, but he sees in the movement a mere pretext for sexual promiscuity, fails to understand the true significance of the manifestation, and so suffers the terrible fate of being killed by his own mother. As Agave is on the point of springing on Pentheus, he removes his disguise and manifests his identity. She sees him, but she sees him through the mists engendered by her emotional orgy, and so fails to understand—until it is too late.

Any interpretation of a play of this sort must be in some measure subjective. It is impossible for the writer to prove that this particular interpretation reflects what Euripides had in mind when he wrote the *Bacchae*. But he presents a very convincing argument for his views, and his conclusion is certainly as sound as any of the others which have been presented. The material which makes up the book is well organized, and is presented in an easy flowing style which is delightful to read. One slight flaw is that the writer is somewhat repetitious. A certain amount of repetition is justifiable in a book of this sort for purposes of emphasis. This reviewer feels, however, that the writer has slightly overdone the matter. But this is a minor point. The book is, on the whole, an excellent one.

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH

St. Louis University

RELIGIOUS FEELING

NILSSON, MARTIN P., *Greek Piety*, translated from the Swedish by H. J. Rose: Oxford, at the Clarendon Press (1948). Pp. viii+200. \$4.25 (15 s.).

ONE OF THE MOST productive and stimulating investigators in the field of Greek religion is Martin P. Nilsson, and the appearance of a new volume by him has always

been regarded as an event. His latest work, *Greek Piety*, is somewhat different from its predecessors in that it is a general survey. In two hundred pages it covers the subject of Greek religious feeling from the earliest days to the coming of the Hellenistic period, when "Greece lost her leading position, and the focal points of the intellectual life passed to cities in foreign countries with a non-Greek population" (p. 190).

In so brief a compass Professor Nilsson could not treat local cults and customs. His exposition is "aimed only at what holds good generally" (p. 18). A brief Introduction, "The National Religion of Greece" (pp. 1-19), is followed by three long chapters: I. "Religion in the Archaic Period" (pp. 20-65), portraying an era of simple and trustful belief; II. "The Dissolution" (pp. 66-91), beginning with the merging of patriotism and religion after the overthrow of the Persians and ending in the early Hellenistic period, when unbelief spread widely; and III. "Rebuilding" (pp. 92-185), recording unsuccessful efforts to find in cosmology, astrology, transcendentalism, occultism, theosophy, and other things a satisfactory substitute for outworn beliefs. A summary (pp. 186-198) and twenty pages of references to ancient authors (pp. 199-200) conclude the volume. There is no index.

The volume carries no footnotes. Though there are two pages of bibliographical references (with the sixty-eight pages to which they apply indicated), a plethora of sources is used without documentation. Some of the omitted citations would doubtless prove useful to scholars giving courses in religion or conducting research in this field. Perhaps in books on religion it is reasonable to expect the reader to take more things on faith.

This work is obviously designed to make a somewhat more popular appeal than most classical books, and any person with broad intellectual interests and an antipathy to footnotes will be able to read it with enjoyment. It should be included in any reference list of books on Greek religion or on religions in general.

Here and there the reader finds particu-

larly informative statements so concisely phrased that they are worth excerpting. I like this distinction between ancient and modern shrines (p. 9): "We make a spot holy by putting a sanctuary there; but in antiquity the holiness belonged to the place itself, and a sanctuary was erected there because the spot was holy."¹ A significant change in the Greek religious attitude after the defeat of the Persians is thus set forth (p. 69): "It is true that patriotism in that age could find expression only in religion, but it robbed religion of its proper and indwelling value; it became an apauge of patriotism, and the individual's piety had but a narrowly restricted place in this collective and patriotic worship." A view reached in spite of some conflicting statements will be welcomed by members of Christian sects (p. 156): "For its victorious religious power Christianity need not thank the circumstance that it moved along lines travelled by the mystery-religions."

Two or three criticisms may be offered. The remark that "superstition is the shadow of religion" (p. 162) is made somewhat casually, but it disregards the fact that official or priestly sanction may sometimes be the criterion by which the ancients distinguished between religious and superstitious beliefs. Saint Paul thought the Athenians too superstitious to be as religious as they supposed they were. Progress in religion, as in agriculture, medicine, and science in general, has been made by stripping off superstitions (or by getting rid of shadows).

Of the period after the defeat of the Persians the following comment is made (p. 69): "In that age much was said about the overweening pride of mankind, its *hybris*, and the vengeance of the gods, *nemesis*, which struck down the proud, but the idea never occurred to them that a whole people may become guilty of such pride and be visited by *nemesis*." Have many of us been wrong in thinking that Herodotus intended to show that the downfall of the Persian nation was due to its overweening conduct? I find it hard to dissociate the fate of this people from the fate of its leaders.

We are told that the Athenians called

upon the Spartans to atone for their guilt in allowing Pausanias, the victor at Plataea, to "starve to death in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos" (p. 43). Perhaps it is captious to note that, according to some sources, Pausanias was taken from the temple just before he died.

It is difficult for us to be more than outwardly sympathetic toward any contemporary religion other than our own. It is still more difficult for us to bridge a gap of two millennia and to see how the religions of antiquity could comfort and uplift worshippers.² Even Professor Nilsson feels constrained to say of the Greeks (p. 5): "Religion formed a part of everyday life in a way which is far from easy for us to understand." Despite such barriers, in this and other books he succeeds in giving the reader a clearer conception of Greek religion. It will be convenient for us to have a brief account of the way Greek worship changed in response to widening horizons.

In rendering the text smoothly and clearly from the Swedish Professor H. J. Rose, of St.

Andrews University, has once again shown his breadth and versatility.

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

University of Michigan

NOTES

¹ This observation reminds one of a striking sentence in St. Augustine, *Sermones* 318 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* 38, 1438): "Nos enim in isto loco aram fecimus Stephano, sed de reliquis Stephani aram Deo."

² We can readily understand some of the most elevating things in an alien religion. If we were fortunate enough to behold Phidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia, we would share the spiritual uplift it gave to Greeks and Romans (see the ancient testimonies in regard to it as collected by Sir James G. Frazer in his notes on Pausanias 5.11.1). Dio Chrysostomus (*Orationes* 12.53) tells us that a man who had once seen it could hardly form any other conception of the god. In words that almost inevitably recall a Biblical verse, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest," Dio (12.51) bears witness to its immense power to bring peace of mind to the distressed:

"Methinks that if one who is heavy laden in mind, who has drained the cup of misfortune and sorrow in life, and whom sweet sleep visits no more, were to stand before this image, he would forget all the griefs and troubles that are incident to the life of man" (Frazer's translation in his notes on Pausanias, loc. cit.).

ETERNAL TROY

YOUNG, ARTHUR M., *Troy and Her Legend*: Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press (1948). Pp. xvi+194. \$3.50.

EXPONENTS OF COMMON SENSE say that one must face the hard facts of existence with fortitude. But "common sense" is most uncommon, and the "hard facts of existence" lack imaginative appeal. We are living in a strangely disturbing and often stupidly desolate world. To laugh with bitter laughter seems characteristic of every segment of society. What is the merit of a book which portrays the legend of Troy in its various literary, artistic and psychological expressions in such a world? What is Professor Young's contribution to the actual and assumed meaning of life in the light of this beautiful legend?

First of all it must be stated that Professor Young has an acute sense for the aesthetic pattern of a story which through the ages

influenced writers, poets, sculptors, painters and other craftsmen of creative imagination. He knows how to place himself into the legend of Troy; he is able to share this experience with the reader. It is very much in his favor—considering Professor Young's academic status as a teacher of Latin and Greek—that his intellectual perception and factual knowledge of antique culture did not freeze his emotional response to the topic. This is not emotional exhibitionism, but a logical and sensitive correlation with the essence of his subject matter. This is not historical or critical impressionism, but imaginative cooperation with an intellectually realized task.

The second major quality of the book consists in Professor Young's method to harmonize well known facts—known even to the lay reader—with information and

commentaries which give the book an original atmosphere. Sainte-Beuve remarked that the critic is the man who knows how to read and teaches others how to read. As a critic and cultural historian Professor Young successfully illustrates the wisdom of the French critic's dictum. He recognizes the drama of an epic experience, the differences of positivism and idealism in their lyrical implications; he recognizes unity in variety. All this is expressed with reference to the source and changing nature of the legend of Troy, with regard to Homer and the cyclic epics, and in relationship to the vitality of the Homeric traditions from early times until the twentieth century. Vividly, in fact with a certain Greek enthusiasm, he describes the effect of the legend on painting, ceramics, tapestry, sculpture, gems, coins and opera. Twenty-five illustrations, well organized notes and an index add to the validity of the book.

Mention must be made of a third quality. Relativity and irrationality are the figures of contemporary political and cultural chess-games. Faith in values, an intelligent loyalty to one's convictions, seem incongruous with the moral and recreational designs and devices of our times. Yet, here we find a scholar who has no wish to conceal his faith in values in order to be up-to-date, and who—if I may quote the maxim of La Rochefoucauld—represents the type of a writer whose eloquence consists in saying all that is needed, and in saying only what is needed. In order to accomplish this, it was not only technical skill and a sense of form that had to be applied by the author, but the courage of conviction in an age of evasions. It is this conviction, that is to say the honesty of character related to thinking and erudition, which makes the symbolism of truth, as suggested and portrayed by Professor Young, convincing and authentic. The book reaffirms one's belief in artistically expressed imponderables which defy the conceit of fashion and humiliate witless arrogance.

JOSEPH REMENYI

Western Reserve University

Classical Articles In Non-Classical Periodicals . . .

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES BULLETIN 35 (1949).—(May: 302-305) A. M. Withers, "Latin, the Reducer of Education." The term *reducer* is used "here in the medical sense. Just as a surgeon 'reduces' a bone fracture, I would pull back the broken thing that most of our students get under the name of general education to fundamental coherence; and I would do it by the application of Latin to the learning of our native language, the most compelling of all general educational considerations."

BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGIST 10 (1947).—(May: 26-44) Bruce M. Metzger, "Recently Published Greek Papyri of the New Testament." Among new sources for our knowledge of the text of the Greek N. T. are the Chester Beatty Papyri; the fragment of St. John's Gospel in the John Rylands Library, "the oldest fragment of the New Testament which has been preserved"; a small portion, discovered at Dura-Europos, of Tatian's harmony of the gospels, or Diatessaron; etc.

In answering the question "What is the textual foundation of the New Testament?" Metzger gives in concise form a good deal of information about ancient *Buchwesen*, palaeography both Christian and pagan, and the problem of numbering the MSS of the Greek N. T. Two interesting distinctions are made between classical and Christian palaeography. (1) The number of N. T. MSS far exceeds that of any pagan author. "So far, 54 numbers have been assigned" to papyrus fragments of the Greek testament, "but actually only 51 Greek papyri are known"; "the vellum manuscripts are divided into uncials of which 212 have been catalogued, and minuscules, of which 2429 have been catalogued." When we turn to the *Iliad*, however, the "Bible" of the Greeks, we find that "the most recent figures . . . are 288 papyri, two uncials, and 188 minuscule manuscripts. Next in quantity of evidence are Plato with 23 manuscripts, Thucydides with 21, Hesiod with 20, and so on down to many authors who are represented today by only one manuscript." (2) "Furthermore, the work of many a pagan author has been preserved only in manuscripts which date from the Middle Ages (sometimes the late

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 109

SOUTHERN SECTION CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

EIGHTEENTH MEETING (29TH YEAR) TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA, NOVEMBER 24, 25, 26, 1949
HEADQUARTERS: THE LITTLE THEATER, HISTORY BUILDING, FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

President: GRAVES H. THOMPSON, Hampden-Sidney College; Vice-President: GLADYS P. LAIRD, P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, University of Florida; SECRETARY-TREASURER AND CHAIRMAN OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE: Graydon W. Regenos, Tulane University; Member of Executive Committee: E. J. BURRUS, S. J., St. Charles College; Delegate to the Southern Humanities Conference: ARTHUR H. MOSER, University of Tennessee; Delegate-at-large to the Southern Humanities Conference: B. L. ULLMAN, University of North Carolina.

LOCAL COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

CHARLTON C. JERNIGAN, Florida State University, General Chairman; EDITH WOODFIN WEST, Florida State University, Co-Chairman; GLADYS LAIRD, the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, State Vice-President Classical Association of the Middle West and South; OLIVIA N. DORMAN, Florida State University; LYNETTE THOMPSON, Florida State University; WILLIAM C. KIRK JR., Florida State University.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24

9:00 A.M.

Registration: The Foyer of the Little Theater.

10:00 A.M.

President GRAVES H. THOMPSON, Hampden-Sydney College, Presiding (Maximum limit for all papers will be twenty minutes)

1. ARTHUR KAPLAN, University of Georgia, "Catiline de-Ciceronated" (20 min.)
2. MARY SOLLMANN, Newcomb College, "Cui Bono?" (20 min.)
3. EDWARD C. ECHOLS, University of Alabama, "The Haunts of the Ancient Slinger" (15 min.)
4. ANNABEL HORN, Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, "Latin in the Interdepartmental Foreign Language Major" (15 min.)
5. WILLIAM C. KIRK, JR., Florida State University, "Techniques of Introduction in Certain of Plato's dialogues" (20 min.)

12:30 P.M.

Members of the Association are invited to a luncheon sponsored by the Florida State University at Upper North Dining Hall. CHARLTON C. JERNIGAN, Florida State University, Presiding.

2:00 P.M.

Vice-President GLADYS LAIRD, P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, Presiding.

1. MILLETT HENSHAW, The University of Miami, "The Church and the Stage in the Roman Empire" (15 min.)
2. ALBERT RAPP, University of Tennessee, "A Greek Joke Book" (20 min.)
3. J. L. ROSE, Duke University, "The Problem of the Second Burial in *Antigone*" (15 min.)
4. CAROLYN BOCK, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana, "The Classical Influence in the Declaration of Independence" (15 min.)
5. A. D. FRASER, University of Virginia, "The Historical Significance of the Dates 753 B.C. and 509 B.C. in Roman History" (20 min.)
6. VIVIA CRAIG, Wilson Junior High School, Tampa, Florida, "From the Pinions of Horace to the Pens of the Neo-Classicists" (20 min.)

7:30 P.M.

B. L. ULLMAN, University of North Carolina, Presiding.

1. E. J. BURRUS, S. J., St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana, "Influence of the Classics upon Some of the Works of Goethe" (15 min.)
2. LAURA B. VOELKEL, Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, "Jeep's-eye View of Greece" (20 min.)
3. WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, St. Louis University, "Classics and the Teacher's Profession" (30 min.)

9:00-10:00 P.M.

Informal Reception in the Alumni Building.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25

9:00 A.M.

ARTHUR F. STOCKER, University of Virginia, Presiding.

1. CORINNE W. GREEN, Queens College, Charlotte, North Carolina, "Sed levius fit patientia" (15 min.)
2. MABEL K. WHITEIDE, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, "A Luxury in the Curriculum" (20 min.)
3. OLIVIA N. DORMAN, Florida State University, "Lupus, a Ninth Century Humanist" (15 min.)
4. WALTER ALLEN, JR., University of North Carolina, "Was Cicero a Religious Man?" (15 min.)
5. SISTER M. AGNES CECILE PRENDERGAST, O. P., Barry College, Miami, "The Classics in Pre-Renaissance Days" (20 min.)
6. ROBERT SCRANTON, Emory University, "Discoveries at Ancient Corinth" (15 min.)

7. C. G. BROUZAS, West Virginia University, "Libraries in Ancient and Medieval Athens" (20 min.)

11:30 P.M.

Luncheon at Wakulla Springs. DR. EDWIN R. WALKER, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Florida State University, *Presiding*. Glass-bottomed boat trip over Springs 185 feet deep, and a jungle cruise up Wakulla River to see flora and fauna; ticket \$1.15.

4:30 P.M.

Business meeting of Florida Classical Association, Wakulla Springs. ALMA ROBERTS BENSON, Tampa, *Presiding*.

7:00 P.M.

Subscription Banquet (formal dress optional), \$2.00. University Dining Hall.

ARTHUR H. MOSER, University of Tennessee, *Presiding*.

1. Address of Welcome: DR. DOAK S. CAMPBELL, President of Florida State University
2. Response for the Association: JONAH W. D. SKILES, University of Kentucky
3. Greetings from the Association as a whole and from Eta Sigma Phi: WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, St. Louis University, Secretary-Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and Executive Secretary of Eta Sigma Phi
4. Presidential Address: GRAVES H. THOMPSON, Hampden-Sydney College "The Tapestry of Time"

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26

9:00 A.M.

RUSSEL M. GEER, Tulane University, *Presiding*

1. GEORGE J. RYAN, College of William and Mary, "Oral Latin in High School and College" (20 min.)
2. GLADYS MARTIN, Mississippi State College for

Women; "Golden Apples and Golden Boughs" (15 min.)

3. MAY FRANKLIN, Landon Junior-Senior High School, Jacksonville, "Vergil's Dido versus the Accepted Dido" (15 min.)
4. LELA M. CRAWFORD, Westwego High School, Westwego, Louisiana, "Their Heritage Also" (15 min.)
5. CHARLES R. HART, Emory University, "The Teacher—Stoic or Epicurean?" (10 min.)
6. T. M. ABERNATHY, Miami Senior High School, Miami, "Some Aspects of the Teaching of Latin in the High School" (20 min.)

Business Session

President GRAVES H. THOMPSON, Hampden-Sydney College, *Presiding*.

HOTEL AND AUTO COURT ACCOMMODATIONS

HOTEL FLORIDAN: single \$3.00 and up; double \$5.00 and up; double with twin beds \$6.00 and up; rooms with connecting bath, single occupancy \$2.50. HOTEL CHEROKEE: single \$3.50 and up; double \$7.00 and up; single with connecting bath \$2.50. FLORIDAN MOTOR COURT Hotel: single occupancy \$4.00; two persons \$5.00; three persons \$6.00. LAKE ELLA MOTOR COURT: same as above; two rooms for four persons with connecting bath \$8.00. SUTTON'S TOURIST COURT: single \$3.00; double \$4.00; double room for three persons \$5.00. TALLAHASSEE MOTOR HOTEL: single \$3.00; double \$5.00; double with twin beds \$6.00. PRINCE MURAT INN: single \$4.00; double \$5.00; double with twin beds \$6.00.

Both the Wakulla luncheon and the banquet will be covered in the \$4.50 fee collected at the time of registration.

(Continued from page 106)

Middle Ages), far removed from the time at which he lived and wrote. On the contrary, the gap between the composition of the books of the New Testament and the earliest extant copies is relatively quite short. Instead of the lapse of a millennium or more, as in the case of not a few classical authors, . . . only a century and a half separate the Apostle Paul's writing from the earliest copy of his letters extant today."—11 (1948).—(December: 70–88) Bruce M. Metzger, "Antioch-on-the-Orontes." A description and interpretation of "some of the archaeological and historical data from Antioch and its vicinity which bear upon the presence there of pagan, Jewish, and Christian elements during the early years of the present era."

DURHAM UNIVERSITY JOURNAL 41 (1949).—(March: 55–63) J. S. Morrison, "An Introductory Chapter in the History of Greek Education." It is convenient to study the immediate antecedents of the sophists under the three rubrics of *historia* (enquiry but, in particular, enquiry about nature), *paideia* (education), and the art of speaking, the things which Alcidas, writing early in the fourth century B.C., says that the sophists have neglected. Actually, we find the poets to be the predecessors of the sophists in these fields. In regard to the third, for example, "Plutarch gives us reason to believe that a guild of . . . political sophists looked back to Solon as its spiritual ancestor."

Traces of "sophistic activity at Athens before the arrival of Protagoras" are to be found in the *Prometheus Vinctus* and the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus. (64–75) H. S. Offler, "Edward Gibbon and the Making of his 'Swiss History.'" The time which Gibbon spent on his history of the Swiss, or *Introduction à l'histoire générale de la République des Suisses*, was not lost, though G. himself was dissatisfied with the work. In doing it he learned much about historical method (as this was practiced in his century) which he later used to greater profit in *The Decline and Fall*. In fact, we may even catch here and there in the Swiss history "through the French dress a hint of Gibbon's future mastery of harmony in prose, and an occasional jeer worthy of his later manner." G. did not destroy what he had written of the work on the Swiss, as he asserts in his *Autobiography*. "The manuscript of the Swiss history has been preserved, and in 1815 it was published by Lord Sheffield in his additional volume to *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon* . . ."

Actually, G. had printed very little before *The Decline and Fall: Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Aeneid* (published anonymously), "a youthful dilettante essay in French on the study of literature," etc.

EDUCATIONAL FORUM 13 (1949).—(January: 219–225) A. M. Withers, "Professors of English on the Latin Question." Answers to a letter sent out to the chairmen of English departments in a number of American universities by Mr. Withers. This letter was "a long-considered petition to graduate schools of English, asking their support in behalf of Latin in the lower schools." Withers felt that the endorsement of Latin by such a group "would have weight and authority as coming from an especially respected outside source which educational planners and curriculum fash-ioners could not ignore."

The writers of the answers not only stress the value of Latin studies in general but often give specific information about the Latin (and other foreign language) requirements for advanced degrees in their departments. From Harvard, for example, comes Mr. Whiting's report that "for the Master's degree we insist on evidence of three years of Latin in preparatory school, or two years in preparatory school and one in college, or one and one-half in college, or their equivalent as expressed by passing the college placement test in Latin. All candidates for the Ph.D. must give evidence of a reading knowledge of Latin by passing a special reading examination set by the department." From Johns Hopkins comes word that "without some first-hand knowledge of Latin scholarly work on English literature of the past is all but impossible"; from Yale, that "the Verbal Factor in the Graduate Record Examinations (in all fields) is not apt to be distinguished if the student has never had any Latin in school."

FRANÇAIS MODERNE 17 (1949).—(April: 84) Leo Spitzer, "Réveillon." Spitzer proposes as the source of *réveillon* the Lat. *rebellio*. The semantic shift would then be from "rébellion" through "joie bruyante" to "repas joyeux"; the change from fem. to masc. gender can be paralleled in *le soupçon* (from Lat. *suspectio*) and *le talion* (from Lat. *talio*).

FRENCH STUDIES 3 (1949).—(April: 137–148) Charles B. Lewis, "FAE—FEY." An account of the history of the adjective *fey* (*fae*) with the meaning 'endowed with supernatural powers.' "Fey in this sense is a word of Romance origin and belongs to a group of words formed from the Latin *fatum*, . . . From *fatum* a verb **fatare*, with past part. **fatatum*, was formed in the

Vulgar Latin period, . . . " The idea of this new verb "is related to fate, destiny, and so the meaning is to fix the destiny of a person; but other shades of meaning were soon developed, according as the destiny was good or bad, such as 'enchant or cast a spell upon, endow with supernatural powers and bewitch'."

In the Old French word for fairy, *fae*, which passed into English as *fay*, there is already the idea of destiny, for it is derived from a Vulgar Latin form *Fata*, based on *fatum*, which was used as the equivalent of *Parca*, 'Fate,' and is attested as early as the time of Diocletian in this sense. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that in the Middle Ages human destiny was thought to be fixed by fairies."

HARPER'S 198 (1949).—(January: 72-77) Jesamyn West, "Arma Virumque Cano." Strictly, this is a story, not an article. Concerned as it is with two students preparing for their parts in a secondary-school Latin department's production of *Scenes from the Aeneid*, it should prove of interest to Latin club directors.

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW 41 (1948).—(July: 153-204) Charles Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica (Macedonica III)." (213-215) Campbell Bonner and Arthur Darby Nock, "Neotera." A description of a gem, perhaps of the second or third Christian century, and an analysis of the word *neōterās* (genitive) inscribed on the reverse. The *neotera* or 'younger' referred to here may well be Cleopatra. (October: 217-228) Herbert J. Rose, "Keres and Lemures." (273-274) Robert M. Grant, "Pliny and the Christians." On similarities of language between Pliny's famous letter about the Christians (10.96) and Livy's account of the suppression of the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C. (Book 39).—42 (1949).—(January: 35-40) James H. Oliver, "The Divi of the Hadrianic Period." (41-51) Robert M. Grant, "Irenaeus and Hellenistic Culture." A study of some of the ideas which Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, "shares with non-Christians of the second century." (53-63) H. I. Bell, "The Gospel Fragments P. Egerton 2." (65-67) Louis H. Feldman, "Another Parallel to the Maenadism of the Bacchae: Hasidism in Modern Jewry." E. R. Dodds, in an article "Maenadism in the Bacchae" (*Harvard Theological Review* 33 (1940), pp. 155 ff.), cited "a number of parallels in other cults to the Dionysiac practices mentioned in Euripides' *Bacchae*." Feldman, in the present paper, points out still another—"the dancing and ecstasy characteristic of that unique movement in modern Jewry known as Hasidism."

HISPANIC REVIEW 17 (1949).—(July: 183-232)

Yakov Malkiel, "Old Spanish *assechar* and its Variants." "The purpose of the present essay is to demonstrate that the derivation of *assechar* and *acechar* from *assectāri* is beyond suspicion. . . ." "With the first wave of Roman conquerors, the Iberian Peninsula absorbed the verbs *sectāri*, *assectāri*, *insectāri* 'to follow (steadily and tacitly),' used in military life, in hunting, and in reference to the courting of women. The Latin lexicon which reached territories conquered at a later date may or may not have contained these words in the vernacular stratum. As the deponential endings were discarded throughout the Empire, a conflict arose in Hispanic Latinity between the homophones *sectāri* and **sectāre* 'to cut, to harvest,' based on *secare* and used by the rural population in widely scattered parts of the Empire, including the Iberian Peninsula, where it has lingered on in the conservative dialects of the northwest. The result of the conflict was the abandonment of *sectāri* in favor of *assectāri*, permitting the latter to cumulate the meanings of the two closely related, yet not quite synonymous words; . . ."

HUNTINGTON LIBRARY QUARTERLY 12 (1949).—(February: 191-205) Richard Beale Davis, "The Early American Lawyer and the Profession of Letters." A study of the relation of law and letters in the United States in the early 19th century. The careers and ideas of "three young lawyers of the year 1815"—the Bostonian George Ticknor, who decided when still quite young to abandon the law for literature and scholarship; Francis Walker Gilmer of Virginia; and Hugh Swinton Legaré of Charleston, S. C.,—are examined. Particular attention is paid to Gilmer and Legaré, whose names are less familiar than Ticknor's.

"It is in . . . hitherto unpublished letters written by Legaré to Gilmer . . . that one gets the most interesting and significant discussion of both Legaré's and Gilmer's ideas as to the relation of law and letters in the young republic. . . . And the letters are perhaps equally valuable in their evidence of profound classical learning and seriousness of purpose on the part of these two young Southerners of the late Jeffersonian period."

"What Ticknor or Gilmer or Legaré meant by 'the literary life' is obviously not exactly what the next American generation meant by the expression. It is, as Legaré implies, a Ciceronian conception."

One letter which Davis cites (pp. 199-202) is especially illustrative of Legaré's educational

philosophy: "At all events, in this republic we may revive the habits of the 'old schools of Greece'—educate man, not as a technical or artificial being known only by one part of his divine nature, while he is as destitute of all the rest as tho they did not belong to him by birth—but educate him with a view to all the relations & duties of an intellectually social & active being, enlighten the mind thro' all her powers & capacities, bring him up in ye speculations of ye closet, in the details of office, in the dangers of ye camp, . . . The learning that I would aim at is that of Cicero—a learning that can be instrumental in promoting the purposes of active life, in elevating the man of business into ye sage, & the mere statement of wholesome truths, into sublime & touching eloquence. . . ."

INTERPRETATION I (1947).—(October: 471-485) Bruce M. Metzger, "Grammars of the Greek New Testament." An account of N. T. Greek grammars from the first one, "written by Georg Pasor, a Lutheran theologian at Herborn in Prussia and later professor of Greek at Franeker in Holland," and published posthumously at Groningen in 1655—this is called the first by Mr. Metzger since "the earlier works of Salomon Glass and Caspar Wyss are not grammars in any real sense"—, to such modern works as the Blass-Debrunner *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. The list of reference grammars (e.g., Blass-Debrunner) is followed by notices of "intermediate" grammars (e.g., Dana-Mantey), grammars for beginners (e.g., Machen's *New Testament Greek for Beginners*, "a book admirably suited for classroom as well as private instruction") of the more usual kind, elementary grammars which use the inductive method, books on special aspects of N. T. language (e.g., syntax), "grammatical studies of individual authors of the New Testament" (e.g., Abbott's *Johannine Grammar*), etc.

The paper also discusses the importance of a knowledge of the Greek language for those who deal with N. T. exegesis. "Among the grammatical categories most likely to prove rewarding to the interpreter are those involving tense, voice, mood, gender, number; the article, and prepositions." The first and last of these categories are illustrated by examples; the prepositional examples include both prepositions with their governed substantives and prepositions in the role of verbal prefixes.

JOURNAL OF GENERAL EDUCATION 3 (1948).—(October: 71-74) B. L. Ullman, "The Ancient Classics in Translation." Values of reading in the

original and some warnings and observations about reading in translation. "It should be a feasible plan to see to it that all college students shall read a minimum number of classical masterpieces in the original or in translation, in class or out."

LIFE 27 (1949).—(August 1: 44-57) "Rome." Photographs by Ralph Crane and others of Rome's monuments and life in the modern city—the Colosseum at night, Felice Aqueduct converted into homes for bombed-out families, young monks playing basketball, Pope Pius XII addressing a crowd in St. Peter's Square, art studios in the Via Margutta, the Palazzo Colonna, outdoor opera in the summer in the Baths of Caracalla, etc.—; running commentary.

LINGUA I (1948).—(September: 427-500) A. W. de Groot, "Structural Linguistics and Word Classes." An investigation of the age-old problem of the parts of speech—i.e., the question: Can one divide words into categories?—from the point of view of modern structural linguistics. The languages used for the enquiry are literary Chinese, classical Latin, and contemporary Dutch.

BASSETT

MODERN LANGUAGE FORUM 34 (1949).—(March-June: 48-51) Vern W. Robinson, "Foreign Languages in California Public High Schools and Junior Colleges." Statistics based on a recent survey.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES 64 (1949).—(February: 76-78) Robert A. Pratt, "The Classical Lamentation in the Nun's Priest's Tale." A passage in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Nova Poetria* indicated as a source of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* vii, 3338 ff. (96-98) Howard Schultz, "Warlike Flutes: Gellius, Castiglione, Montaigne, and Milton." Milton's mention of the use of flutes by armies moving to battle (*Paradise Lost* i, 550-554) seems to owe more to a passage in Aulus Gellius than to Plutarch. (April: 251-255) Nan C. Carpenter, "Rabelais and the Greek Dances." Athenaeus xiv, 629 was the source for Rabelais' list of Greek dances in the Fifth Book of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. (264-266) John W. Spargo, "Chaucer's Kankedort [*Troilus* and *Criseyde* II, 1752]." A conjecture that this baffling word (read also *kankedorte* in at least four important manuscripts) is a compound of the Latin *cancer* and OE *ort*, which here "combine to give us something like 'region (or area) where crab-like or uncertain behavior prevails.'" (May: 339-343) W. Nelson Francis, "Chaucer's 'Airish Beasts.'" Chaucer's references to "airish beasts"

in two passages of the *House of Fame* seem clearly to have been inspired by Ovid's phrasing in his narrative of Phaethon's ride (in *Metamorphoses* ii).

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW 44 (1949).—(January: 89-91) William B. Hunter, Jr., "Two Milton Notes." (1) A suggestion of neo-Platonic influence, possibly from Proelus's commentary upon the *Timaeus*, in *Paradise Lost* viii, 94-97, concerning the powers of the sun. (2) A suggestion of Procopius' *Commentary upon Genesis* as one ultimate source of Milton's portrayal of the Cherubim "with dreadful faces" (*Paradise Lost* xii, 624-644).

MODERN PHILOLOGY 46 (1949).—(February: 163-171) Pierre A. Duhamel, "The Logic and Rhetoric of Peter Ramus." This sixteenth-century French humanist "looked upon himself as a conservative reviser and adapter of the Aristotelian work on logic and rhetoric, removing the accumulated errors of centuries and restating more briefly and practically what others had previously developed." In spite of his criticism of Aristotle he should be regarded "as one who thought of himself as a friend of Aristotle."

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY 28 (1949).—(January: 53-71) Fred E. Ekfelt, "Latinized Diction in Milton's English Prose." This study undertakes to show the extent and the manner of Milton's frequent use in his prose writings of English words of Latin derivation, maintaining "that Latinized words are used there wonderfully and admirably, that they are a magnificent part of Milton's very distinctive powers of expression."

PMLA (PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA) 64 (1949).—(March: 115-133) Bennett Weaver, "*Prometheus Bound* and *Prometheus Unbound*." A penetrating comparative study of Aeschylus and Shelley. "The basic difference . . . between the Greek myth and Shelley's adaptation of it is that in the one Prometheus does 'unsay his high language' and trade his secret for his freedom, whereas in the other he does not. . . . But the difference, in effect, of the two plays is not so great as might be expected. . . . Surely in what may be his most significant and characteristic work Shelley owes a great debt to Aeschylus." (189-207) Caroline W. Mayerson, "The Orpheus Image in *Lycidas*." The "association of the Orpheus myth with pas-

toral elegy . . . had its roots in the classic tradition," but Milton's adaptation of the myth in *Lycidas* "unquestionably goes beyond the uses made of it by others." (221-235) Paul A. Jorgensen, "Shakespeare's Coriolanus: Elizabethan Soldier." A study intended "to show that Shakespeare drew principally upon the military situation of his own era and country in reshaping the Plutarchan story." (June: 570-584) Yakov Malkiel, "The Etymology of Hispanic *Terco*." A new theory that traces the derivation of the Spanish word *terco* ("stubborn, obdurate") and its cognates from the Latin *internecare*, surviving only in its figurative meanings of "damaging" or "destroying."

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH 35 (1949).—(February: 1-16) Marvin T. Herrick, "The Theory of the Laughable in the Sixteenth Century." The principal basis of modern theories of the laughable is Caesar's discussion in Cicero's *De Oratore* (ii, 58, 236), quoted by Quintilian and doubtlessly derived ultimately from Aristotle and Plato. Among the sixteenth-century discussions of this topic the most elaborate and, perhaps, influential was Madius' essay *De Ridiculis*. The most significant element in Madius' theory "is his coupling of the classical *turpitudine* with *admiratio*," which to him is virtually synonymous with "the unexpected or surprise." Certainly later writers, "from the sixteenth century to the present time, [have] found that the unexpected is the source of laughter . . . the unexpected has persisted as the most satisfactory explanation of why men laugh." (April: 164-169) William M. Sattler, "Some Platonic Influences in the Rhetorical Works of Cicero." Cicero's eulogy of the Platonic Academy in the *Orator* (3, 12) "exaggerates the influence of the Academy upon [his] rhetoric and oratory, and undervalues that of his non-Academic rhetorical and philosophical training. . . . The actual body and substance of his rhetorical teachings stem largely from Isocrates, Aristotle, and Stoic writings."

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY 56 (1949).—(Summer: 241-247) W. Leonard Grant, "Cato the Farmer." A brief essay about the famous old censor and his *De Agricultura*, "a manual written for hard-headed farmers by another farmer, more hard-headed still."

—In December

"Cosa: Republican Colony in Etruria" (Illustrated)

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